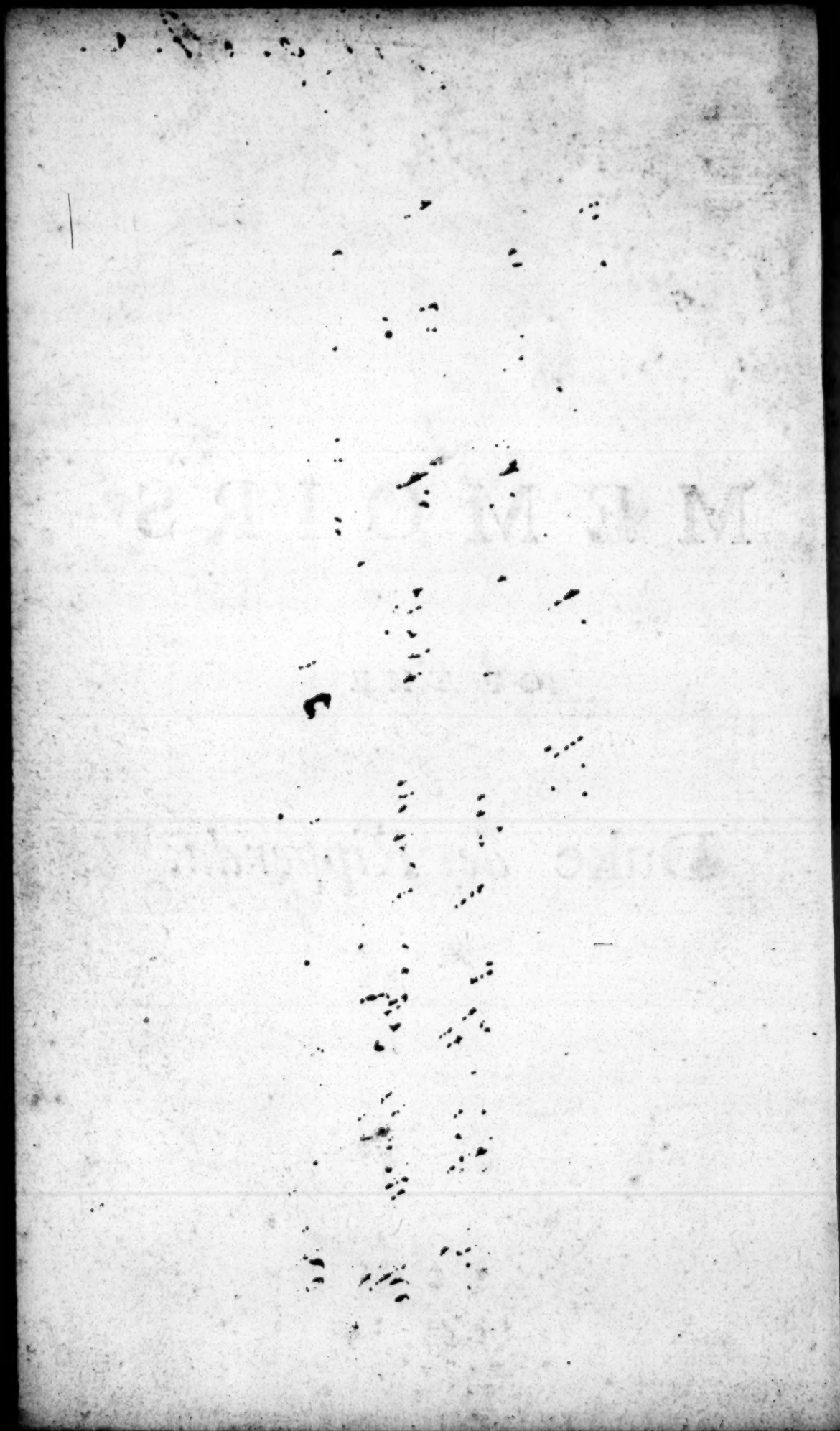


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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Duke *de Ripperda.*



Gal. b. A. c.
M E M O I R S

OF THE

Duke *de Ripperda*: *K.*

F I R S T

EMBASSADOR from the *States-General*
to his Most *Catholic* Majesty,
Then DUKE and GRANDEE of *Spain*;

A F T E R W A R D S

BASHAW and PRIME MINISTER to *Muly Abdalla*,
Emperor of *Fez* and *Morocco*, &c.

C O N T A I N I N G

A Succinct Account of the most Remarkable Events
which happen'd between 1715 and 1736.

Interspers'd throughout with

Several Curious Particulars relating to the Cardinals DEL
GIUDICE, and ALBERONI, the Princess of URSINS,
Prince CELLAMERE, the Marquis BERETTI LANDI,
M. DE SANTA CRUZ, and other Persons of Distinction
in the *Spanish* Court.

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To which is Annexed,

An APPENDIX, containing some Papers on the
BALANCE of *Europe*, the PRESENT STATE of
Spain, and the CONSEQUENCES of a WAR in the
West-Indies.

L O N D O N:

Printed for JOHN STAGG, in *Westminster-Hall*; and
DANIEL BROWNE, at the *Black-Swan*, without
Temple-Bar. M.DCC.XL.





PREFACE.

H*I*storical Accounts of Embassadors, Statesmen, and Prime Ministers, their Negotiations, Schemes and Successes, as they are curious, full of Incidents, instructive in their Nature, and absolutely necessary for the Knowledge of Mankind, have been always honoured with a favourable Reception: Especially where they have been written with Candour and Integrity, with a view of setting Truth in a full Light, without Heightening or Disguise. For though it be true, that Satires and Invectives are at

first more eagerly read, and sought with greater Avidity than true Histories, yet by degrees as the Edge of personal Malice wears off, those injurious Representations lose their Credit, and Posterity wisely prefer Sincerity to Spleen. On this account it is, that we see the Memoirs of great and good Ministers universally esteemed. The Life of Cardinal Amboise, who governed the French Nation with all the Tenderness of a Parent, or to raise his Character higher, governed like the present Cardinal-Minister: This Life, I say, is read with general Applause. Men are pleased to see Piety, Wisdom, and Good-Nature united with Title, Grandeur, and unlimited Power. The several Writers, who have sought to do justice to Ximenes the great Statesman of Spain, have each of them received a due Tribute of Praise; and it is certainly no small Honour to the Memory of that illustrious Person, that two of the best Pens in France have within these few Years been employed in transmitting the
Me-

Memory of his great Actions to future times. Our own immortal Burghleigh, whose Administration does honour to the brightest of the English Reigns, hath never met with the Assistance of any Historian, without procuring a kind Reception for his Work.

The fortunate Ministers have not alone recommended such as have saved their Honours from Oblivion; the Publick hath paid the same Regard to those who generously strew'd Flowers on the Monuments of the unhappy. The Memoirs we still have of the luckless Antonio Perez are read with Pity for him, who is their Subject; and this Pity begets a Kindness for the Man, who, without respect to Pomp and Fortune, undertook the Care of collecting for Posterity the Tale of a Statesman's Misfortunes, who was once a Favourite, tho' he died an Exile. All the Pieces that relate to the unfortunate Earl of Strafford, who, like a setting Sun, sunk with such a Blaze of Glory, as the Eyes of his

his Enemies were not able to endure, are at this Distance of Time carefully preserved, and as carefully read. The Cant of those who preached this English Demosthenes to the Scaffold, where his Royal Master followed him, makes no Impression on a more discerning Age. The Generality of the World now honour him, and those that have done him Honour. The Writers who have rescued the Character of the Grand Pensionary De Witt, from those who tore his Body to pieces, have received the Thanks of all Men of Honour and Humanity, and even of the Children of those who rejoiced in that great Man's Death. For popular Fury, tho' it does strange things for a moment, yet its Force quickly wears off, and like the ebbing of the Sea, after a high Storm, restores to the Eye the Ruins of whatever it destroy'd; which, if excellent in themselves, are viewed with the greater Veneration, on account of their ill Fate.

The

The Author of the following Sheets hath not however either Merit to plead. The Person whose Memoirs he furnishes was great indeed, but not successful; and tho' unhappy, very unhappy, yet still less so than he deserved. He therefore can rely only on the Love of Truth, and the Desire of supporting it for Protection; and he hopes, that with the present Age, this will sufficiently recommend his Design. As to the manner in which he has executed it, the Reader will judge of it. All he presumes to say for himself is, that Flattery or Prejudice had no share therein. To this he begs leave to add, that there are certain Circumstances attending the Story of the Duke de Ripperda's Life, which render it extremely worthy of Notice; and having insisted a little on these, he will contentedly leave his Book to its Fate.

The general Concerns of Europe have for many Years been influenced by the famous

famous Treaty of Vienna, which was negotiated by the Baron de Ripperda, and the Negotiation of which made him Duke, Grandee, and Prime Minister of Spain. This alone should seem sufficient to raise the Curiosity of the Publick, which was so strongly awaken'd by the Schemes of Baron Gortz and Cardinal Alberoni; tho' they had not greater, or more fatal Effects. An Event, which changes the whole System of Politicks, can never be thoroughly understood, without a proper Acquaintance with the Characters of those by whom it is brought about. This the World seems to understand perfectly well, on this it appears to ground its Judgments, and therefore the Author of the Memoirs of M. de Ripperda thought, they would be an acceptable Present.

*But with respect to the British Nation, there are some Reasons which interest us in a very particular manner, in the History of this Duke. We were told, by a celebrated, and some say, a Right Reverend Author, that the Table-talk of this Minister was the true Basis
whereon*

whereon the Treaty of Hanover was built; and that in consequence of his Discourses, Admiral Hofier was sent to the Bastimento's, and Sir John Jennings to the Mediterranean. The Consequences of these Armaments have been since made the Topick of long and loud Disputes, which seem at present as far from being adjusted as ever; and therefore an Account of their Author cannot but be suitable to the general Taste. Besides, his Person was extremely well known in this Country, and at this Court. It was here the Duke de Ripperda fram'd, and would have carried into execution, his vindictive Schemes, for humbling the Spanish Monarchy; and it ought always to be mentioned to the Honour of his present Majesty, that he had more Justice and Generosity, than to countenance such sanguine Schemes, or to think of returning that ill Usage, which his Subjects had met with. It was here he formed his romantic Design of retiring to Barbary, and of presenting to the Emperor of Fez and Morocco
Projects

Projects still more cruel and fatal, than any he had already formed. After such Acquaintance with the Man, and with his Views, we cannot sure but be well pleased to hear what became of him and them.

*To what has been already said, we may join the natural Advantages of these Memoirs, which contain as curious, as entertaining, and as instructive Particulars, as any this Age hath produc'd. In them, we see a Man distinguished by Birth, endow'd with great Parts by Nature, liberally educated, introduc'd happily into the World, and rising after he was so introduced by Dint of his own Merit; I say, such a Person we see rejecting a Religion, which was not the Effect of his Nurse's Dictates, but of his own mature Choice; abandoning that Country which had honour'd him with great Employments, and doing all this for the sake of making court to Arbitrary Power, and from the bare Hopes of obtaining a share therein. The
same*

same Man, we see thrown from all these glittering Expectations, and retiring with all the Firmness of a Philosopher, reposing himself in the pleasing Solitude of a Country Life, and behaving as if his Ambition had been lost with his Fortune. Suddenly we behold him returning again to Courts, soliciting and receiving Favours, if Trouble and Fatigue deserve that Name; and rising, by a quick Succession of Dignities, to that lofty Seat, which could alone gratify his Lust of Dominion. There, when we look up to him, we no longer discern those good Qualities, which hitherto, by their Lustre, hindered us from hating his Vices. We perceive him haughty, insolent, and capricious, spurning the Nation which had lifted him to such a height, and losing the Reverence due to those who had led him to this envied Greatness. From thence we see him falling like a Meteor, pursued by the merciless Rage of a distracted People, hurried to a Prison, and forgotten there by his Friends, his Wife, and even Justice herself.

herself. Escaping by the aid of a love-sick Woman, flying with the Dart of Revenge sticking in his Heart, to England, Holland, Barbary ; there forgetting his Honour as a Gentleman, and his Faith as a Christian, submitting to be circumcized, and rising once more at the Expence of his Religion. Again imperious, again insolent, again hated, degraded again, and reduc'd to the State of a private Man ; his Head secured by his Arts, his Safety obtain'd at the Expence of his Loyalty ; Indolence succeeding to Ambition ; of a Statesman he becomes a Debauchée. Then by the gradual Approaches of Death awaken'd from this Insensibility, we see him become again a Gentleman, a Man of Honour, and a Christian ; condemning his Errors, lamenting his Wickedness, and leaving the Example of his Misfortunes, as the best Legacy to his Children.

Sure ! there is Variety enough in this ! and in the present Age, Variety alone

alone is frequently a sufficient Recommendation. But here there is Verity also. The following Sheets contain nothing that is not to the best of the Author's knowledge strictly true; nor is the Truth ever heightened or exaggerated for the sake of moving the Passions, or pleasing the Imagination. The End aimed at was, to represent things as they really are, and to leave the rest to the Reader's Judgment, which is patiently expected.



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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Duke de RIPPERDA.

THE Mischiefs naturally attending an obstinate War, which had for a long time wasted *Europe*, inclined all the Nations who were engaged therein, to wish nothing so much as the return of Peace; the Conquerors and the Conquered had suffered so deeply, that they were both heartily tired, and equally disposed to let fall all Disputes: when the Baron *de Ripperda*, a Gentleman of the Province of *Groningen* and the *Omelands*, was sent in the quality of Deputy from thence to the *States General*, having a few days before publicly abjured the Roman Catholick Religion, in order to embrace the Reformed.

He was, to speak impartially, a Man of Genius and of profound Penetration, extremely zealous in appearance for his Country, an excellent Friend, affable, liberal, but not over-tenacious of his Word. Faithless, tho' no Coward; in Politicks more knowing than sincere, in Ambition boundless. But for this, *Spain* had 'till now conserved to him that Regard and those Dignities which were once thought due to his Merit.

As he was known through all the United Provinces, the News of the Change he thought fit to make in

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his Religion, and the Dignity which had accrued to him from that Change, made a mighty noise. His Friends of the Protestant Religion, who had always look'd upon him as an obstinate Papist, were equally surprized and pleased; while the Catholics hung down their heads, and contented themselves with saying, that he was among the Number of those impious Persons, who with a View to temporal Rewards, abandon those Religious Principles, of the Truth of which they remain convinced in their Hearts. They did not fail however to excommunicate him, of which he took little notice, supporting all the Effects of their Resentment with that Calmness and Indifference, which, in respect to such things, he maintained in all the subsequent extraordinary Transactions of his Life.

From the Time the *Baron de Ripperda* entred on the Functions of his Office he was admired by every body, and the Respect of his Collegues came nothing short of that Applause, which was bestowed upon him by the less knowing part of the World. The Foreign Ministers were charmed with his Conversation, the Marquis *de Chateauneuf* his Most Christian Majesty's Ambassador, was particularly taken with his obliging Behaviour; and notwithstanding the Change he had made in his Religious Principles, honoured him with his Esteem. The *Baron*, on the other hand, neglected nothing on his part, necessary to testify a profound Sense of the Favour the *Marquis* conferr'd upon him. He was yet more assiduous to cultivate those happy Opportunities which Providence seem'd to throw in his way, by bringing him into the Management of publick Affairs while the Congress at *Utrecht* subsisted, where he had an Opportunity of seeing the most accomplish'd Ministers of the several Princes of *Europe*, of observing their several Talents, and in fine of forming himself on such excellent Models
for

for the Exercise of a like Office in a Foreign Country, and even for supporting alone the Weight of publick Affairs in a great and powerful Nation, as he afterwards did; not without Reputation, as the bitterest of his Enemies have confess'd.

The *States-General* finding it convenient to send a Minister on their part to the Court of *Madrid*, quickly cast their Eyes on the *Baron de Ripperda*, as a Person whom they had long thought equal to any Employment of that kind, to which they were led by the happy Success of those Negotiations in which in quality of Deputy to the States he had been employed at home. The Baron received with a decent Chearfulness, an Honour to which he had long aspired, and having his Letters of Credence from his Masters the States once in his hands, he took a quick leave of his Friends in order to set out for *Spain*. He quitted *Holland* in the Month of *May* 1715, and arrived at *Madrid* on the 6th of *July* following.

He was received by his Catholick Majesty with all possible Marks of Honour, which the situation of Affairs made necessary, and the Baron's easy and respectful Behaviour very agreeable to that Prince. The *Spanish* Ministers came by degrees to have a high Esteem for him; considering him as a very able Man, and admiring early those Talents with which they were afterwards less pleased. It is generally thought that our Politician projected very early that Turn he afterwards made, tho' nothing of this appear'd in his Conduct, which was such as establish'd the Reputation he had acquired at home and abroad. He foresaw that to attain the mighty Things which he had already swallowed in Imagination, it was requisite to behave towards the *Spaniards* in such a manner as to give them very high Ideas of his Capacity, and to manage the Affairs of his Masters with such Address, as that they might have

no occasion to repent of the Confidence they had reposed in him. He succeeded in both his Designs; nothing was heard at *Madrid* but the Praises of the *Dutch* Minister, and nothing was more generally acknowledged at the *Hague*, than the Merit of *Ripperda*; insomuch, that the States-General sent him Orders to take upon him the Quality of *Ambassador*, which he accordingly did in the Month of *November* 1715, and thenceforward neglected no Opportunity of confirming the Friendships he had made, or of contracting such new ones as he thought might prove useful.

Cardinal del Giudice was at this time *Prime Minister*, of whom it is necessary to say something, in order to render the subsequent Part of our Memoirs more easy and perspicuous. His Eminence was the Son of the *Prince de Cellamere*, and Duke *de Giovenazzo*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*. He was born in the Year 1647, and destined by his Father to the Priesthood. In the Year 1690, he was created Cardinal Deacon by *Pope Alexander VIII.* In the Year 1696, he was charged with the Affairs of *Spain*, at the Court of *Rome*, by King *Charles II.* In the Year 1699, he was declared Protector of *Sicily*, and shortly after one of the Members of the Grand Council of State formed by the Prince before-mentioned. In this Situation *Philip V.* found him on his Accession to the Throne of *Spain*, and in the Close of the Year 1701, he named him Viceroy *pro interim* of the Island of *Sicily*, bestowing on him soon afterwards the rich Archbishoprick of *Monreal*. In the Year 1709, he retired at the Command of the King from *Rome*, on the Pope's acknowledging his Competitor King *Charles III.* In 1710, he was named Inquisitor-General of *Spain*. In 1712, he came to *Madrid*, where he acted as Chief Minister and Confident for some time. He then accompanied his Nephew the Prince of *Cellamere*,

mere, in his Embassy to *France*, where he was not very fortunate. He incurr'd the Displeasure of *Lewis XIV*, by causing a *Placard* to be posted up at *Versailles*, condemning a certain Book, written in *Spain*, in right of his being Inquisitor-General. He had likewise the Misfortune to lose the Favour of his Sovereign, on account of his Intrigues with the *Princess des Ursins*. Things at last ran so high, that he received an Order to resign the Post of Inquisitor-General, which he did immediately. In 1714, he was recalled; and in the beginning of the next Year, having obtained leave to wait on their Majesties at *Buen Retiro*, he found means to excuse himself so well, that he was received into higher Favour than ever; and in a short time not only reinstated in his Post of Inquisitor-General, but the Office of Governour of the Prince of *Asturias* was added thereto, and he was likewise declared *Prime Minister*.

In this Situation the *Baron de Ripperda* found him, and began to negotiate with him on the Affairs for which he was sent to *Spain*. The Cardinal quickly saw how able and how artful a Man he had to deal with; and as he was himself a Man of much Address, and of almost inconceivable Cunning, he easily comprehended of how great Importance it would be, if, by any means, he could bring him into his Interest. With this View, he not only caressed him on all occasions, and did him such Favours in the Course of his Ministry, as might induce the Baron to have a great Complacence for him; but he also proceeded so far, as to tempt him by very considerable Offers, to forget that Respect which was due to his Country, and that Fidelity which became a Person vested with so high a Character. The penetrating *Ripperda* saw perfectly into his Intentions, but did not think fit to comply with them; either because he judged his own Af-

fairs were not yet in such a State, as would make such an extraordinary Revolution feasible, or that he had some Apprehension of that Minister's Ruin, which happened not long after.

The *Cardinal del Giudice* was of the number of those Statesmen who have not courage enough to offer their Masters good Counsels, or sufficient Resolution to justify the Counsels they give. On the contrary, he was always pushing the King upon violent Measures, and at the same time he insinuated to the People, "That it was with the utmost Concern he saw himself obliged to execute such harsh Orders, which render'd him infinitely more miserable than those who suffered by them, since he was at once the Object of their Majesties Hatred for the Opposition he made to their Commands, and of the Ill-will of the People, on account of the Obedience he was forced to pay them." His Conduct had been long suspected, and his *Catholick Majesty* had more than once received Intimation of his Unfaithfulness; but the Minister knew how to work upon the King's Temper, especially while he preserved an Ascendancy over the Queen, which he did for some time, and doubtless would have done so much longer, if his Successor in the Ministry, *Alberoni*, had not given such clear Lights into his Behaviour, as left their Majesties no possibility of doubting of the Unworthiness of their Favourite.

One of the most considerable things which the *Cardinal del Giudice* performed in the latter part of his Ministry, was the procuring the Conversion of the *Baron de Ripperda*, or rather confirming him in his Design of returning to the Profession of the *Roman Catholick Faith*. This he effected especially by the means of an *Italian Jesuit*, who had been Confessor to the *Chevalier de St. George*, and whom he had sent for into *Spain*, with a View to the

the obtaining for him the same Post about the Person of his *Catholick Majesty*; but in this he was disappointed through the Activity and Vigilance of *Father Molinos* a *Spaniard*, of the same Order. However, the *Italian* Father having had frequent Conferences with the *Baron de Ripperda*, fixed him at last to the Resolution of returning to *Spain*, and declaring himself a *Catholick*, after the Affairs of his Ministry were finished, and he had acquitted himself to his Masters the *States-General*, of the Trust reposed in him. But neither the *Jesuit*, nor the *Cardinal* could prevail on him to move any quicker, or to enter into any stricter Measures with the Minister than was consistent with his own Reputation and Safety; in which, without question, the *Baron* gave a strong Proof of his Sagacity, since if he had taken other Measures, they might, in all probability, have proved fatal to him, as they never could have been advantageous.

The Conduct of the *Baron de Ripperda* towards the foreign Ministers was such, that notwithstanding many Reasons which rendered them at first very cautious, they became at last perfectly satisfied with him, as well in his Ministerial Capacity, as in the ordinary Course of his Conversation. The *English* Minister particularly lived in great Intimacy with him; the rather, because he had no Taste for those Diversions which are esteemed the peculiar Pleasures of the Great; and in which, tho' the *Baron de Ripperda* shone as much as any Man, yet he took as little delight in them as he. The *Grandeess* of the *Spanish* Court behaved towards him with all imaginable Marks of Esteem, on account of that respectful Treatment which the *Baron* always received from their *Catholick Majesties*, whenever he went to pay his Court to them, as other publick Ministers did. But in the midst of these Pleasures our Statesman was not a little embarrassed by a domestick Discontent. His Chaplain, an honest *Dutch*

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Minister,

Minister, could not see with patience the Jesuits daily resorting to his Master's House, and receiving from him all possible Demonstrations of the strictest Confidence. The Good Man told him frankly his Sentiments, as a Protestant Divine, and a Subject of the States-General. He alledg'd, that these frequent Conferences would necessarily raise great Suspicions in the World on the head of his Excellency's Religion, and might possibly beget some Doubts and Jealousies, even in the Breasts of his best Friends, at the same time that they could not be of any use to himself; since while he continued a Protestant, their Discourses could serve only to make him uneasy, and to fill his Mind with Scruples. That with respect to any political Use, which might be made of these Reverend Fathers, he was confident, that it never could succeed. For that however ready they might be in their Promises, and whatever Interest they might have in the Court of *Spain*, yet he was confident, that they would neither fulfil those Promises, nor make use of that Interest to serve him, but would act in such a manner as to serve themselves in all things at his Expence, which would be little to his Reputation as a publick Minister. The Baron *de Ripperda* seem'd to listen to these Discourses, not only without Pain, and without Dislike, but with all outward Appearance, of Gratitude and Kindness for him who made them. He took a great deal of pains to excuse his Behaviour on this head, and promised from time to time that he would take an Opportunity of forbidding those Fathers his House; whereas in truth he meant nothing of all this, being only at pains to keep up an exteriour Zeal for the Protestant Religion, when there was a Necessity of speaking of it; and as to Politicks, he knew very well that nothing could be suggested to his prejudice to his Masters the States-General, since he had perfectly succeeded in the Affairs wherewith he was charg'd,

charg'd, and had obtain'd such advantageous Conditions, as in all probability would not have been obtained by any other Minister less in favour with their Majesties and their Minister than he was.

In the midst of this Career of Success, the *Cardinal del Giudice* suddenly demanded leave to lay down his Employments, that he might be at liberty to retire to *Rome*, pursuant to the reiterated Commands of his Holiness. He obtained his Request without much difficulty, and the *Baron de Ripperda* saw with regret him without Power, in whose Favour he stood highest. We have already hinted at the Causes of his Disgrace; but as there is always something entertaining in the Story of a Minister's Fall, it may not be amiss to enter a little more particularly into that of the *Cardinal del Giudice*.

We have heretofore mentioned the Princess of *Ursins*, the great Favourite of *Mary Louisa* of *Savoy*, King *Philip* the Vth's first Queen. After the Decease of that Princess, she gain'd such an Ascendancy over the King, as to govern all things at her pleasure; and it was to her that the *Cardinal del Giudice* owed that great Share of Confidence which the King allowed him. On his *Catholick Majesty's* Marriage with the *Princess of Parma*, the *Abbot Alberoni*, who had negotiated the Match, and had the Queen's Ear in every thing, advised her, by Letter, to demand of King *Philip* the Dismission of the *Princess of Ursins* before her Majesty entered *Spain*. The *Abbot Alberoni*, who resided at *Madrid*, with the Character of *Envoy* from the Duke of *Parma*, observing how much the King was embarrassed by this Demand, took upon him to shew the expediency of it. He spoke on this Occasion very tenderly of the *Princess of Ursins*, acknowledged all her great Qualities, and magnified all the Services she had rendered to the King. He then observed, that his Majesty as a just and grateful Prince, had honour'd the Princess with a multitude of Favours,

Favours, which rendered it altogether improper for her to appear at Court, when his Majesty should receive another Queen, who thereby became the Mistress of her who had been so lately the Mistress of all things. Perceiving that the King relished this Discourse, he proposed it as an Expedient, which would entirely free the King from any Trouble, that he should by Letter acquaint the Queen with his having granted her first Request, and at the same time leave it to her to execute it as she thought best. In this the King readily acquiesced, because nothing disturbed him so much as the Apprehension of forbidding the *Princess of Ursins* his Presence. On the other hand, the Abbot *Alberoni* being upon good Terms with that Lady, persuaded her to ask the King's Leave to accompany the Marquis *los Balbases*, who went to receive the new Queen on the Frontiers of *France*. King *Philip* readily granted this Request, and the Princess setting out immediately from *Madrid*, met the Queen upon the Frontiers of *Castile*. As soon as she entered the Antichamber, the Queen bid her retire, and a moment after sent an Order to the Colonel of the Guards to conduct her into *France*, with a Prohibition of ever thinking of returning again into *Spain*. That haughty Princess refused to obey the Queen's Command, till the Colonel told her he had an Order from the King in writing, directing him to execute precisely such Orders as he should receive from her Majesty. The *Princess of Ursins* then saw, that the Abbot *Alberoni* had sacrificed her to the *Manes* of his Master the Duke de *Vendome*, whom she constantly thwarted, and who once told King *Philip*, *That it was a shame his Councils should be directed in those things by a Woman, which it was unfit for any Woman to know*. From this time forward, the Cardinal *del Giudice's* Interest began to decline, tho' *Alberoni* would never meddle in Affairs. He had access to the Queen

as the Envoy of *Parma*, the Advices he gave her were received as Oracles; but when she repeated them to the King, they came as from herself. It was owing to his Counsels, that the Queen sent back every *Italian* Lady who attended her, that she discountenanced Foreigners, and openly advised his Majesty to depend wholly upon the *Spanish* Grandees. The Cardinal *del Giudice* would very willingly have been taken for the Author of these Advices; but the *Spanish* Nobility were not so to be deceived, they knew very well that he was the Patron of all the *Italians* about the Court, and they said plainly, that no Stranger ever did the *Spaniards* good but *Alberoni*. Him therefore they assisted to open the King's Eyes, with respect to the double Dealing of his Minister, who had been long playing a back Game, and taking care of the Concerns of his Family at the expence of his Master. The Honourable Mr. D. was then at *Madrid*, charg'd with the Affairs of *Great Britain*; a Man equal in all respects to the Character he sustain'd. He made a proper use of *Alberoni*, that is, he made him serve the *English Nation* more than he was aware of, and obtained by his means all he wanted; while the *Italian* was glad to go any lengths that might enable him to gratify his own Ambition. The Address of Mr. D. was so well understood, that amongst the *Politicians*, *Alberoni* was afterwards called his *Cardinal*. In the beginning therefore of the Year 1716, their Majesties began to shew some Coldness towards *del Giudice*. In the Month of *July*, they took from him the Office of Governour to the Prince of *Asturias*, on pretence that it was incompatible with the Affairs of his Ministry. He was shortly after given to understand, that the King expected he should resign his Post of *Inquisitor-General* to *Father Molinos*; and in less than a Month he saw himself under a necessity of laying down those Employments which he could not keep, as
also

also of quitting *Spain*, where those, who had always hated him, took now the liberty of reviling him. The last Act of his Ministry, was the recommending the *Baron de Ripperda* to the King and Queen, as a Man of useful Talents, and one on whom they might safely depend; which, if it did him no other Service, obliged the Abbot *Alberoni* to take much notice of him as soon as he was fixt in his Administration.

It would be too great a Digression to attempt in this place a Draft of the State of Affairs in *Europe* at that time; let it suffice then to say, that *Julius Alberoni* having received the Purple from Pope *Clement XI.* at the Recommendation of the Queen of *Spain*, was soon after created a Grandee of that Kingdom by his Catholick Majesty, and vested with the Title and Office of Prime Minister. From this time forward, no Man courted him more than the *Baron de Ripperda*, and no Man was better received in appearance than he. Yet it was impossible for the Baron not to perceive, that in the midst of all these outward Testimonies of Esteem, the Cardinal-Minister was far from relying upon him, or treating him with that Openness which his Predecessor had done, which gave him no little Concern. On the other hand, the Cardinal, who was well enough acquainted with the Secret of the Baron's Conversion, and of his Design to abandon the Service of the *States*, to enter into that of his Catholick Majesty, did not however care to trust him, till he had some farther Marks of his Fidelity. For his Eminency made it a Rule with him, to raise none but his own Creatures, and never to admit any Man into their number, without being convinced, that he would without hesitation do whatever he desir'd, or rather what he commanded. All the *Baron de Ripperda's* Address, all the Compliments that from time to time he paid him, wrought little upon the Cardinal, who waited an
Opportunity

Opportunity of trying the Sincerity of his Proteſtations, and of diſcerning whether he was for his Turn or not.

While things were in the State we have deſcribed, the Baron paſſed with the world for one of the Confidants of the Cardinal-Miniſter; and one Evening at the Houſe of one of the Queen's Ladies of Honour, who fell ſhortly after into Diſgrace, the Converſation turned upon this Subject, even while the Baron was preſent. If I, ſaid a certain Perſon, were under the Neceſſity of applying to one who might procure for me the Favour of the Miniſter, I ſhould certainly addreſs my ſelf to his Excellency here, the Ambaſſador from *Holland*. Convinced as I am of his profound regard for his Excellency, I ſhould rely ſolely on his Mediation, and never diſquiet my ſelf a moment about its Succeſs. It is certain, answered the *Baron de Ripperda*, that no Man eſteems more than I do the great Abilities of his Eminency; I know very well, that ſcarce any Miniſter ever had greater, and that thoſe who ſpeak of them with Indifference, either are not capable of judging of them, or hate them becauſe he is poſſeſſed of them. But after all, the Viſits I pay the Cardinal are ſolely on account of the Affairs with which I am charged, and when our Diſcourſe does not roll upon them, it turns altogether on Subjects which are quite indifferent. For my part, ſaid another Gentleman, tho' I muſt own, that it is always honourable for a publick Miniſter to keep up a proper Degree of Intimacy with the Perſon entruſted with the Management of Affairs at that Court where he reſides; yet I aſſure you, I would by no means make it my ſtudy to ingratiate my ſelf with a Man of the Prime Miniſter's Temper. He is one who makes Promiſes with a Facility equal to the difficulty which is found in making him keep them. Moſt of the Great Men about the Court know this by Experience. Nay, where there is the ſtrongeſt

strongest Reason to hope somewhat from his Promises, that is, where a Man is capable of doing him Service, where there is neither Punctuality, Industry, or Capacity wanting, yet are there all things to be feared from the slightest Check given to his Temper, or rather Humour, which is delicate to such a degree, that there is hardly a Possibility of not offending it. The smallest Act of Forgetfulness, the slightest Indifference, tho' it happens casually, effaces a Man from his Memory, and makes him indifferent towards him for ever; the softest, the gentlest Raillery wounds him to the quick, and tho' it may fall on the slightest Part of his Character, yet will he revenge it, when you least think of it in your most important Affairs. I do admit that there is no Man living understands better than he, how to value, to improve, or to reward Mens Abilities, if they are such as he likes; but then there never existed a Minister more capable of discerning, or of exposing a Man's Foibles, if he likes him not. On this account it is, that I dread his Humour. But for God's sake, reply'd the Gentleman who spake first, where shall we find a Man without Faults? There is nothing easier than to secure one's self; from the Cardinal's Resentment, to be sure of him one need only be sure of one's self; and if you would once relish this Doctrine, I persuade my self you would quickly find your account in it. For my own part, I acknowledge that I have the Honour to be well with the Minister; and if you will believe me, I find nothing easier than to preserve his good Graces. Say you so? returned the *Baron de Ripperda* briskly; If you are of the number of the Cardinal's Friends, allow me the Honour of reckoning you amongst the most intimate of mine.

When they retired from this Conversation, the *Baron de Ripperda* desired the Favour of his new Friend to go home and sup. with him, which the other

other very readily accepted. He was a Man well known to, and well received by the Cardinal; but, like many others, enjoy'd nothing in consequence of this Favour, except the Hopes of being provided for some time or other. It was no wonder therefore that he so joyfully embraced the acquaintance of the *Baron de Ripperda*, whom he justly looked upon as a Man very capable of fixing his Fortune with the Cardinal. The Baron, on the other hand, ran into high Panegyrics on the Minister, and after having solemnly protested that he was entirely devoted to the Cardinal, he gave the strongest Assurances to his Friend, that if he could introduce him to the Confidence of his Eminency, he should quickly find his account therein.

The Conversation was interrupted much sooner than either Party desired, by the coming in of the *British* Envoy, who made this Visit to inform the *Baron de Ripperda* that himself was recalled, and that he apprehended he would not stay long after him. The Baron concurred with him in Opinion, knowing as well as any Man the Situation of Affairs, and the Reasons of that Coldness which had been shewn of late by the *Spanish* Court towards their *High Mightinesses* his Masters. The true Source of which was this: The Cardinal-Minister, who did all things, had demanded of the States, in the Name of the King his Master, leave either to build, or to buy Ships ready-built in their Ports which Demand was not thought either just or reasonable. The *Dutch* saw clearly, that the Increase of the maritime Power of *Spain* would be dangerous to themselves, as well as to the rest of *Europe*, and therefore they would by no means consent to his Project, which the Cardinal looked on as the surest, safest, and shortest Method of effecting it. The *Baron de Ripperda* was charged by his Masters with the Care of representing to their Catholick Majesties the Reasons on which their Refusal

fusal was grounded. These, however tenderly expressed, were but indifferently received, and the Court of *Spain* gave evident Testimonies of her Dislike to the Conduct of the States, tho' their Minister the Baron *de Ripperda*, was still as well received by their Majesties and the Cardinal as ever.

About the End of the Month of *November 1716*, M. *de Ripperda* was actually recalled. This gave him the greatest Pleasure, because there was nothing he so much desired as an Opportunity of returning to settle his Affairs in *Holland*, that he might be at liberty to put in execution his favourite Design of devoting himself to the Service of their Catholick Majesties, after laying down the Burthen of the *Dutch* Affairs, and being perfectly discharged from those Negotiations, which, on the part of the *States*, he had carried on. He had behaved so cautiously at *Madrid*, that no body there had the least Suspicion of his Intentions. Every body knew, that he was well received by the King, the Queen, and the Cardinal; but this was attributed to his great Abilities, and to that extraordinary Politeness, which distinguished him even amongst the most polite Men in *Europe*. He took leave of his Friends with such Grief in his Countenance, and with such Expressions of Sorrow and Concern, as rendered it a thing past doubt, that he never thought of appearing in *Spain* again, but took his last farewell of the Acquaintances he had made there.

Such was the Situation of things, and such the Employments of the *Baron*, when, of a sudden, a Report began to rise that the M. *de Ripperda* would not leave *Spain* at all; but that quitting his Character as a *Dutch* Minister, he would abjure the Protestant Religion, and enter instantly into the Service of the Catholick King. Whence this Report came, could not be discovered; however, it spread so generally, that it reached the Ears of the King,
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the Queen, and the Jesuits; who, though they knew well enough, that it was not without foundation, yet smiled at it as a Story groundless, and which deserved no Credit. The Friends of the Baron *de Ripperda* were however not a little alarmed; they were jealous of his Reputation, and extremely desirous that he should effectually clear up Matters, so as to leave no Doubts on the Minds of Men with Respect to his Conduct. With this View they resolved to make him a Visit, to acquaint him with what was reported, and to demand of him such an Explanation as might destroy that Report. But when they came to the Baron's House, and found every thing there disposed for his immediate Departure, himself assiduously imployed in such Preparations, and his Equipage almost ready to set out, they were so thoroughly convinced that what they had heard was an idle and groundless Calumny, that they thought it unnecessary to trouble the Baron with a Repetition of it; nor were their Suspicions revived, when they understood that he left his Wife and all his Family behind him; so that the Baron left *Madrid* without knowing that the Publick had surmised any thing as to his secret Scheme.

On his Return to the *Hague*, he gave an Account to the States-General of his Negotiations; and as soon as he had got once free from publick Affairs, he applied himself with great Vigour to the settling his private Concerns. This Country appeared to him in the light of a frightful Desert, from which he longed to escape to the Paradise he figured to himself in *Spain*. His leaving *Madam de Ripperda* behind him, and his never mentioning any Design of bringing her home, alarmed his Friends exceedingly, who were in the highest Joy at his first Arrival, and would willingly have believed, that he came back as good a Protestant from *Spain* as he went thither. They were not however quite so

tender as his Acquaintance at *Madrid*; for after having given him many Hints of the Stories they had heard, which the Baron always treated as things he did not at all understand, and which at first they took for Art; but when they had thoroughly examined not only his Words, but his Looks and Gestures, they began really to think, that he dealt plainly with them, and that therefore it was their Duty to deal plainly with him. With this View, they told him in few words what was reported of him, and the News which was altogether unexpected, struck the Baron into such a Reverie, that for many minutes a Word could not be got out of his mouth. In this time he ran over in his Mind all the Circumstances attending the Conferences he had ever had on the Subject, and finding no Ground to believe that any really could transpire of what had past, he resolved roundly to deny it, which he did with all the Vehemence possible, when once he had recovered his Spirits. It is unnecessary to repeat what had passed in this Conversation, it is sufficient to observe, that a Man of Wit, who made one of the Company, perceiving how uneasy the Baron was, adroitly turned the Discourse on the State of the Court of *Spain*, the Favour and Exile of the *Princess of Ursins*, the Fall of the Cardinal del *Giudice*, and the Rise of the famous *Alberoni*. This gave some Relief to the Baron, whom so unlook'd for a Discourse had quite disconcerted; but he was unable to recover his wonted Good-humour, and therefore enjoy'd very little Satisfaction till the Company broke up, and left him at liberty to employ his Thoughts in endeavouring to trace out the Path by which his Secret had escaped to publick Notice.

While he was tormenting himself with such excruciating Cogitations, a Servant brought him a Packet from Don *Antonio Alvaro de Mendoza*, an
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intimate Friend of his in *Spain*, whom he charged to write him all that past after his Departure, and who was acquainted with all his Secrets, save that of his Conversion. This *Don Alvaro* was a Clergyman, who had fallen into Disgrace with their *Catholic Majesties*, on account of some unguarded Expressions he had let fall against the Cardinal *del Giudice*, while he was in the Zenith of his Favour. He was however restored in the Opinion of their Majesties by the Interposition of the Baron, who had also procured a Command in the Army for his Brother the Marquis de *Villagarcia*. The Purport of *Don Alvaro's* Letter was, that he heard with extreme Pleasure a Report, tho' grounded only on Suspicions, that he intended to forsake the damnable Heresy of *Calvin*, and return into the Bosom of the Church. As soon as the Baron discovered that Suspicion only grounded on his Intimacy with the Jesuits had given rise to this Story, he presently recovered his former Tranquility, and determined by a firm and well-regulated Hypocrisy, to put Truth itself out of countenance if he could. A hardy Resolution, which, to his cost, he found afterwards more easily taken, than carried into execution.

That Steadiness with which he persisted in treating the Report of his abjuring his Religion as a Fable, and all the Arts he made use of to propagate an Opinion of his returning to *Spain* meerly on political Views, had no manner of Effect; on the contrary, those to whom he spoke grew warm in their Infidelity, in proportion to the heat he discover'd in his Defence, till at length the Baron tired out with unsuccessful Hypocrisy, thought proper to decline speaking rather than fatigue himself any longer to so little purpose. After this step, the *Hague* appeared no proper Place for him to reside in, he therefore made haste to finish the Business,

which required his Presence there, and then set out for his Estate in *Groningen*, where he hoped to live more quiet. As soon as he arrived there, all the People of Distinction in the Neighbourhood came to pay their Respects to him, to congratulate him on his Return, and to assure him of their good Wishes, wherever he was, or whatever Measures he might take. But these Compliments, far from giving any Delight or Satisfaction to the *Baron de Ripperda*, made him only the more dissatisfied, and raised his Aversion against that Country, which he ought to have revered. Unlucky Habitation! said he one day to himself in his Garden, how do I long to escape from a Place, where Abilities and Ambition serve only to render a Man contemptible, and where dreaming over a Book, or being tied to some little Employment, is called a happy State of Life. His Gardener, who overheard him, and who fancied that what he said reflected on *Spain*, could not help crying out, Why do you torment yourself, Sir, is it not easy for you to send for my Lady and the Family home without going back again to that cursed Country, of which I have heard many People speak as you do; nay, your very Chaplain says, that tho' he was a Minister, yet if he had not belonged to you, they would have put him into the Inquisition. Well, it must be a strange Place, where they can send a body to Jail, and keep one there; without telling one why or wherefore. It is true, I know nothing of it myself, but I have heard every body say so; therefore I am persuaded, it must be as they say. Think you so, my Friend, said the Baron smiling, I little thought you knew any thing of the Inquisition. Pray in what Book did you read the Account you talk of? By my Troth, reply'd the Gardner, I spend none of my time in Reading. The Parson of the Parish is my Author, he has talk'd of the Inquisition

twenty

twenty times in his Sermons; some Friends of mine too knew somewhat of it in *Portugal*. One of them told me a long Story of an *English* Lad, who was clapt up only for saying, That the Mass was a queer sort of a Custom; and was kept there the Lord knows how long, till the *English* Ambassador had him out again, and then he made such a Description of this Inquisition you talk of, as would make a Man's hair stand an end. The Baron, charm'd with the Fellow's Frankness, gave him a great many good Words, promised to carry him with him to *Spain*, and take care of his Fortune, provided he would think of moderating his Dislike to the Inquisition. I give you a thousand Thanks, Sir, said the Gardener, but I shall never be able to do that; I should certainly beslave those Priests, if I saw them going about to murder any body for an idle sort of an Expression. But my Friend, said the Baron, it is not they who murder People, it is the Laws that condemn them to death. Why then, Sir, returned the Gardener, they should get some better sort of Laws, for these must be very bad ones. It is better to live here upon black Bread and Water, than to eat Capons in such a Devil of a Country, where a Man may be put to death for a Word's speaking, or lie in Prison all his Life for he does not know what. No! no! I like this same *Holland*, and had rather have it for my Country than all the *Spains* upon earth. The Baron laughed, and continued to persuade the Man to think of leaving *Holland*, and of following his Fortunes into *Spain*; but the Gardener was as obstinate in his way, and at last the Conversation grew as uneasy to M. de Ripperda, as it had been at first agreeable. So that in the end he quitted the Man somewhat out of humour, and not a little mortified to see that natural Abilities, supported by Probity, are sufficient to preserve a Man against all the Attacks of Art.

When all things were settled, and he began to prepare in earnest for his Return to *Spain*, he thought to induce several of his Dependants to embrace the Offer he made them of going along with him. But in this too he was mistaken; his whole Retinue consisted only of a Valet de Chambre, and two or three Footmen. The former, who was a Native of *Picardy*, had embraced the Protestant Religion when his Master did it, and then thought it a very noble and generous Action, and now regulating his Faith by the Baron's, he was resolved to go back again, rather than lose all the Hopes of Fortune he had, which depended solely upon his Master's Favour. The Baron, on the other hand, was blind enough to apprehend, that this Inconstancy in his Valet, was the Effect of his Attachment to himself; and hence it was, that he admitted him to Familiarities which did not at all agree with the Condition of Life he was in: so vain a Creature is Man, even when he is endowed with the greatest Abilities!

The *Baron de Ripperda* took his journey thro' *France*, with all the expedition possible, that he might prevent the Expectations of his Friends, and arrive at *Madrid* before he was looked for. As to his Reception in that Capital, it came at least up to, if it did not exceed his hopes. The King, the Queen, the principal Grandees, and above all the Jesuits, expressed the highest Joy at the sight of him, and at his Performance of the Promises he made them. *Madam de Ripperda*, whom the Reverend Fathers had solicited warmly to follow the Example given her by her Husband, stunn'd him with her long Accounts of the Civilities shew'd her by the Ladies, the Respect paid her by the Court, and the great Pleasure she had enjoy'd in the Conversations of the Clergy during his absence. It was some Damp to his Pleasures, that the Cardinal *Alberoni*

beroni happened to be indisposed on the Day of his Audience, and could therefore do no more than make him his Compliments; but his Satisfaction was compleat, when, in the Evening, he received a Visit from his Eminency, whose Head-ach left him in the Afternoon, and in that Visit had all possible Assurances given him, that he should have no Reason to repent his leaving his Country, and returning into the Bosom of the Catholick Church. As for the Ministers of Protestant Powers, whom the Baron had so egregiously deceived at his Departure, they knew not what to make of this extraordinary Turn. At first, they affected to doubt of it; but when no room was left for that, Colonel S——, the *British* Minister, extricated them from all their Difficulties, by saying roundly, That Religion was a Man's own Affair, and that it would depend entirely upon the Baron *de Ripperda's* future Conduct, whether he should esteem him more or less for the Change he had made.

From the time of the Baron *de Ripperda's* Return into *Spain*, he had daily Conferences with the Queen, and the Cardinal-Minister. These were sometimes of such an extraordinary Length, and managed with so many Precautions for the sake of Secrecy, that the Publick became extremely inquisitive about the Subject of them. However, notwithstanding all the Measures taken to penetrate this mysterious Business, nothing transpired. It was indeed suggested, that they related to some foreign Negotiations, and a certain secret Expedition; whereas in fact, they had no such end, but tended entirely to the settling a Woollen Manufactory in *Spain*, which the Baron first projected, and which by his Care was afterwards brought to great Perfection. Without dispute the prime Object the Queen and Cardinal had in view, was the Advantage of the Nation; but it is as certain, that they

had in view likewise the prejudicing the *English* Trade. The Possession of *Gibraltar*, which they looked upon as a kind of political Fetter, piqued the *Spaniards* so strongly against this Nation, that there was nothing they more earnestly desired than to make them feel their Resentment. The Cardinal well knew, that this could be done no other way than by hurting their Trade; he knew likewise that the *English* bought up the *Spanish* Wool, and having manufactured it at home, transported again those Manufactures into *Spain*, where they sold them at what Price they pleased. His Eminence also foresaw, that the interfering at all with the woollen Trade, would extremely alarm that Nation, and that nothing was easier than for the *English* to check, or even to put an entire end to the Projects of *Spain*, which were to be executed by a naval Force; yet he resolved to push this Project as far as possible under the Direction of *Ripperda*: and therefore on this, if on no other account, the *Spanish* Nation hath great Obligations to the Cardinal-Minister, since otherwise they never had seen any thing of that Manufacture in their Country, which is now carried on so much to its advantage.

Notwithstanding the great and constant Application, which M. *de Ripperda* found himself obliged to give to the new Employment he had undertaken, yet he did not suffer it to interfere with the main Business of his Return to *Spain*, that of abjuring the Protestant Religion, which he performed with as much studied Solemnity, as if he thought it possible to eclipse thereby that Sense of his Inconstancy which he saw in the most intelligent of his familiar Friends. On the day fixed for that Ceremony, the Baron went to the Palace of St. *Ildefonso*, at eleven of the clock in the Morning, where he found the Prince of *Asturias*, and many of the Grandees of
Spain

Spain waiting. The Business of the Day was begun by a Jesuit, whom the Cardinal *del Giudice* had charged with the Care of his Conversion. After this, he was conducted to the Chapel-Royal, where their *Catholick Majesties* and the *Infants of Spain* were present. Then Don *Antonio Alvaro de Mendoza* made a long and learned Discourse, wherein he refuted, or at least endeavoured to refute the Errors of the Protestant Religion; he pointed out all the Advantages of the Church of *Rome*, such as her having an infallible Guide, an uninterrupted Succession in the Church, and the Power of the Keys. He concluded his Oration with a long and labour'd Character of the new Convert. After this the Company heard Mass, and the *Baron de Ripperda* took the usual Oaths, which were administered by the same Priest. When the Solemnity was over, the Baron, in the most humble manner, thanked the *Prince of Asturias* for the Honour he did him in assisting thereat; he then went and saluted their Majesties, after which he left the Palace to go and dine with the Jesuits. As soon as he arrived at their Convent, he was complimented there by the most eminent Ecclesiasticks, and many of the *Grandeess of Spain*, who were also invited to Dinner by the General of the Order. These Forms over, a very magnificent Entertainment succeeded, which was not interrupted by any over-serious Discourse. Towards the Close of it the Baron invited all who were present to supper at his own House. This Invitation they readily accepted, and were there regaled in a most superb manner, the *Baroness de Ripperda* taking a great deal of pains to render herself agreeable to the Company, and several times repeating her great Satisfaction in seeing the Baron fixed for Life in *Spain*, preferable to all the Countries in the World.

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The News of the *Baron de Ripperda's* Abjuration, when brought to *Holland*, became the Topic of Conversation in all polite Places, and especially at the Tables of foreign Ministers: The Friends of the Gentleman concerned, who were extremely scandalized at his manner of proceeding, were so far from defending him, that they spoke of his Conduct with greater Resentment than any others, especially in regard to that part of it which more nearly related to themselves, his dissembling in the manner he had done, and his giving them such solemn Assurances, even at his Departure for *Spain*, that he would live and die a Protestant. One of them, the Baron de ——— could not forbear writing to him in the following terms.

To the BARON DE RIPPERDA.

‘ AS I interest my self, Sir, extremely in all
 ‘ things relating to you, the Detail I have
 ‘ had of your late Conduct hath given me inex-
 ‘ pressible Concern. I have been so fully appriz’d
 ‘ of it, by such as have had many Opportunities
 ‘ of looking into it, that I do not, I cannot doubt
 ‘ of your having dissembled excessively in all you
 ‘ said to your Friends here, and to myself espe-
 ‘ cially; and if I had not been afraid of interrupt-
 ‘ ing your great Joy, I had before now taken that
 ‘ liberty, which Friendship allows, of complain-
 ‘ ing of your Treatment in this Particular.’

What can, Sir, contribute to your Reputation
 ‘ after this so flagrant a Proof of your Inconstancy?
 ‘ I am not unacquainted with that charming Na-
 ‘ tion, where the Genius and the Manners of the
 ‘ People seem to dispute which shall have the most
 ‘ Right to be admired. I enter readily, Sir, into
 ‘ those extraordinary Transports, which make
 ‘ you

‘ you forget your Country, that your Mind may
 ‘ have the more room to receive the mighty Idea
 ‘ you have formed of *Spain*. I can forgive, Sir,
 ‘ that extraordinary Step in your Conduct, and I
 ‘ must acknowledge, that it would be extremely
 ‘ difficult for you to preserve any Remembrance of
 ‘ *Holland*, tho’ it is your Country, considering how
 ‘ vastly inferior it is to *Spain*, that Region where
 ‘ Virtue is so highly admired, and so amply recom-
 ‘ pensed.’

‘ But after all, ought you not to fear, dear Sir,
 ‘ the Fate of those unhappy Men, whom Ambition
 ‘ and the Love of Riches entirely possess; I
 ‘ mean the being buried in the Waves even in sight
 ‘ of the proposed Port. The Thirst of Greatness
 ‘ is increased by what ought to gratify, our Hopes
 ‘ flatter us, the Fears of what envious Persons may
 ‘ attempt disturb us in such a manner, that having
 ‘ once given way to Imprudence, we only acquire
 ‘ even in obtaining our Desires new Subjects of
 ‘ Disquiet, which is the fatal Consequence of sacrificing
 ‘ Liberty to the Love of Grandeur.’

‘ Permit me, Sir, to offer to you these Remon-
 ‘ strances, you know they are due to our ancient
 ‘ Friendship, and to that Affection and Sincerity,
 ‘ with which I have the Honour to be.’ *Ec.*

To this the Baron *de Ripperda* made the following Reply, by the very next Post, that his Friend might not reproach him with want of Civility as well as Sincerity.

To ———

‘ **Y**OU might, Sir, very justly charge me with
 ‘ Ingratitude, if I should be wanting in testifying
 ‘ the Sense I have of the kind Concern you
 ‘ ex-

‘ express on my behalf, and the Testimonies of
‘ Friendship you have given me.

‘ I am not at all surprized, that Persons acquaint-
‘ ed with my manner of behaving here, have ta-
‘ ken the trouble to give you an Account of it;
‘ there are so many inquisitive People, that it
‘ would have been very idle in me had I flatter’d
‘ myself with the hopes of escaping their Obser-
‘ vation.

‘ I do, Sir, very readily acknowledge, that I
‘ did not confide to you my Design as to Religion.
‘ But as I had no favourable Occasion of doing
‘ this, you ought not to accuse me of Dissimula-
‘ tion. On the contrary, Sir, you know very
‘ well, it was my Interest not to mention what I
‘ knew would draw upon me your Hate. Had
‘ I not known your Prejudices on this Subject,
‘ without doubt I should have taken the pains of
‘ justifying myself towards you.

‘ However it be, Sir, there is certainly no In-
‘ terest preferable to the Tranquility and Quiet of
‘ one’s Conscience; and these are the real Motives
‘ which have determined me to the steps I have
‘ taken. Men are born free, and yet become Slaves
‘ by their Prejudices; if that should be my Case,
‘ I certainly owe it to my ill Stars, and not to
‘ any sinister Views.

‘ As to *Spain*, Sir, without doubt it has its
‘ Advantages, as other Countries have theirs; and
‘ I must own, that as the Air here agrees better
‘ with my Constitution, than the cold foggy Ele-
‘ ment in *Holland*, I have for this reason, as well
‘ as that of Religion, thought fit to reside in *Spain*,
‘ where I have no Apprehensions of the Shipwreck
‘ you talk of; because whatever other People may
‘ think, I know very well, that I have no extra-
‘ ordinary and much less boundless Views, but on
‘ the contrary, such as may be very easily satisfied,
‘ and

and thereby render me contented. Be persuaded, Sir, that your Remonstrances appear to me the strongest Evidences of your Friendship, and that I esteem them, and shall always esteem them as the Objects of my Respect and Submission. I am,

*With the deepest Regard,
Your most obedient, humble Servant,
The Baron de Ripperda.*

These Letters are sufficient to charecterize the Circumstances the Baron *de Ripperda* was then in; and we do not apprehend, that there is any Necessity to pursue this Point farther, and to fatigue the *English* Reader with all that was said in *Holland*, or wrote to *Spain pro and con*. The Event in itself was extraordinary, the Person it concerned considerable, even when it happened, and much more so afterwards; but as to such Discourses and Letters, they would serve only to embarrass the Course of the Narration, and swell the Bulk of these Memoirs with very unentertaining Particulars.

The Affairs of *Spain* were at this time in a very nice and critical Situation; the *Cardinal-Minister*, tho' he was one of the greatest and most industrious Politicians of his time, found himself overloaded with Business, and incapable of sustaining alone that Weight which he had taken upon himself. The Queen saw this, and therefore proposed to him more than once the bringing in the *Baron de Ripperda* to bear a part. He had, as we observ'd before, daily Conferences with the Queen and her Minister, and the latter had expressed himself often in Terms highly advantagious to the *Baron de Ripperda's* Character as a Politician. His Eminency however could not brook the taking him in as a Coadjutor, for many reasons, and amongst others for these: Because being himself a Man of low Birth,

Birth, and having in his Temper a great deal of Heat and Haughtiness, tho' mixt with many good Qualities, and Abilities truly admirable, he foresaw that if *Ripperda*, who had Talents little inferior to his own, and who had neither his Meanness, nor his ill Qualities, should once come into play, his Reputation would be destroyed, and the *Spaniards* would begin to think of chusing, of two Strangers, him who was the most bearable. To say the truth, he had the strongest Reasons for thinking in this manner, if we consider that Haughtiness and Reserve with which he treated all Degrees of People, their Majesties not excepted. A Haughtiness the more inexcusable, his Fortune considered.

But notwithstanding the Cardinal did not think proper to comply with the Queen's Desire, yet he very readily made use of M. *de Ripperda* in such Affairs as came before the Council, and were therefore none of those Arcana on which his Ministry depended. For with respect to these, the famous *Richlieu* fell far short of him in the Arts of Concealment. He had so filled their Majesties Heads with Notions of Secrecy, that by degrees he prevailed upon them to believe, that it would be much for their Interest, if even themselves were ignorant of the Methods made use of by him in the Management of their Affairs. If this was not a Fact at this time notoriously known, and generally agreed upon, one would be ashamed to mention it ; as, without all doubt, Posterity will be extremely unwilling to believe it. Yet so it was, that while Cardinal *Alberoni* transported Forces into *Italy*, entered into Negotiations with the Princes there, equipt Fleets, built Ships, repaired Ports, and made openly vast Preparations for War ; no body could penetrate the Mystery, neither did their Catholick Majesties certainly know what it was he intended. But as these numerous
and

and vast Designs, tho' they were all projected, could not be all executed by himself alone, so the Baron *de Ripperda* was called in to assist in such Cases as were best suited to his Genius. He had a Head extremely fertile in Projects, he was never at a loss for Expedients. In such Matters, as required this sort of Skill, the Baron *de Ripperda* was always and chiefly concerned; but in others, there was such a Similarity between his Genius and that of the Cardinal's, as would not permit his Eminence to call in his help, lest his own extraordinary Faculties should have suffered, either in the Opinion of the Council or of their Majesties.

One of the great Points, which *Alberoni* had in view, was the freeing *Italy* from the *Germans*, and thereby delivering his natural Sovereign the Duke of *Parma* from those Terrors, which he was continually under by the Pretensions formed on his Dominions by his Imperial Majesty. This Design he concealed under the specious Pretext, of seeing with regret the Provinces dependent on the Crown of *Spain* dismembred therefrom, which Discourse he knew would prove alike pleasing to the King and to the People. The Emperor being then engaged in a War against the *Turks*, he conceived that no time could be more proper for wresting from him some of those Provinces, which the Urgency of Affairs rendered it necessary for *Spain* to give up to him by the Peace of *Utrecht*. The better to conceal his Views, he had advised, even before he was possessed of the Ministry, the equipping a Fleet, which was sent to the Assistance of the *Venetians*, and by the lucky Arrival of which *Corfou* was preserved. In right of this Action, he came to be considered as a true Friend to the *Italians*, and procured from the *Pope* a Bull, allowing the King to raise a vast Sum of Money from his

his Clergy, under pretence of its being imployed against the Enemies of the Cross; he likewise gain'd by this means an Opportunity of proceeding without disturbance on a naval Armament, which would otherwise have alarmed all *Europe*, and from which the *Venetians* expected vast things, The Expedition however was intended against *Sardinia*, at that time in the hands of the Emperor, to whom it had been yielded by Treaty. As nothing could be plainer than that this was an Infraction of the Treaties of *Utrecht* and *Baden*, and consequently nothing more likely to revive that Alliance, which had brought the two Crowns into such dismal Circumstances, his Eminency thought fit to cause the following Letter to be sent to each of the Publick Ministers at the Court of *Spain*, to persuaade them, if possible, of the Uprightness of his Intentions.

Copy of a Letter from the Marquis Grimaldi, one of the Principal Secretaries of State in the Court of Madrid, to the Ministers of his Catholick Majesty at the several Foreign Courts. Dated Aug. 9. 1717.

‘ **I**T is not to be doubted, that the Passage and
 ‘ Employment of the Forces of the King (whom
 ‘ God preserve) for the Reduction of the Isle of
 ‘ *Sardinia*, at a time when all the Christian States
 ‘ had reason to persuaade themselves, that that Ar-
 ‘ mament was designed to reinforce the Christian
 ‘ Fleet against the common Enemy, according to
 ‘ the generous Offers which his Majesty had made
 ‘ to his Holiness; has much surprized your Excel-
 ‘ lency, as well as the Publick, seeing that I my-
 ‘ self have been extremely astonished at it, who
 ‘ having the Honour to be so near his Majesty,
 ‘ may be allowed so much the more to know what

no body is unacquainted with, his Uprightness, his Justice, his religious Observance of his Royal Word, his extreme Delicacy in Matters of Conscience, and his Superiority of Spirit in Adversities, which are so many Parts which compose this Monarch, and make him surpass his Predecessors, the most Catholick and the most Holy. In the mean time, who can imagine, that a Prince, adorn'd with all these Virtues, forgetting himself (as we may say) so much, should undertake an Act of Hostility against the Arch-Duke, at a time when he had upon his hands so dangerous a War against the *Turks*, and when even the Coasts of the Ecclesiastical State were threatened with an Invasion? The Case being thus, no body can reason otherwise, than that the Motives must be very great and very pressing, that should force such a Resolution; Motives, which after a long and surprizing Silence, I have at last been informed of from the living Oracle of his Majesty's sacred Mouth, with order to communicate it to your Excellency, which I shall do with all possible Brevity.

Greatness of Soul made his Majesty bear with the Dismemberment of his Dominions, which the Plenipotentiaries would sacrifice to the Tranquillity of *Europe*. After which he persuaded himself, that these stipulated Sacrifices would at least have secured to him the Rest of this Nation, as glorious as afflicted.

But no sooner had he complied with the Surrender of *Sicily*, in favour of the Repose of *Spain*, upon the Condition of the Evacuation of *Catalonia* and the Isle of *Majorca*, than he found that the Orders received for that purpose were concealed; and when at last it came to the knowledge of his Allies, it was pretended, that the Treaty should be executed, by virtue whereof his Majesty de-

' manded the Evacuation of the Places. Nothing
 ' was more easy for that purpose, than for the Gar-
 ' risons of the Arch-Duke to have surrender'd to
 ' the King's Troops the Gates of the Places they
 ' possessed, in the same manner as was reciprocally
 ' practis'd among the Potentates of *Europe*; but
 ' quite on the contrary, the Generals of the
 ' Arch-Duke violating the Publick Faith of Trea-
 ' ties, and the reciprocal Engagements, abandon'd
 ' the Places to the *Catalans*, making them at the
 ' same time believe, that they would soon return,
 ' and thereby fomented their Disquiet and rebellious
 ' Spirit, so far as to induce them to think of a fu-
 ' rious and obstinate Resistance; and for the better
 ' Support of that Resistance, which was the more
 ' injurious to his Majesty, as it was powerful, the
 ' Generals when they embarked, permitted that the
 ' Horses of their Troops should be left and aban-
 ' don'd to the Rebels. And they had even a De-
 ' sign to deliver to them *Ostalic*, a Place that had
 ' been put into their hands for the more easy and
 ' safe Imbarkation of their Troops.

' What Expences, what Destructions, and what
 ' Afflictions and Miseries, has not this Violation
 ' of Faith and Contravention of Treaties, which
 ' ought to be sacred, brought upon *Spain*? The
 ' Continuation of the War had been less sensible,
 ' and the Losses it might have brought more glo-
 ' rious to *Spain*.

' With all this the King, for the love of Peace,
 ' dissembled, and shut his Eyes upon the continual
 ' Succours that came from *Naples*, to support the
 ' Boldness of the Rebels, in hopes of procuring
 ' step by step Repose to his Subjects, after so long
 ' and ruinous a War, and another without name.
 ' How much more easy would it have been for
 ' his Majesty to have invaded, with his powerful
 ' Armies and Squadrons, the Dominions the Arch-
 ' Duke

‘ Duke possessed, to make him sensible of the inju-
 ‘ rious and insidious Treatment, he had been guilty
 ‘ of? But notwithstanding all this, the Effects of
 ‘ his Breach of Faith did not stop there.

‘ Letters were sent to the Generals and Gover-
 ‘ nours of *Majorca*, to surrender it to the King ;
 ‘ but contrary Orders privately given, animated
 ‘ them to delay the Performance, and gain time for
 ‘ the Arrival of *German* Succours, to force *Spain* to
 ‘ a new War, to equip Squadrons, and to plunge
 ‘ the Kingdom into new Expences and Miseries,
 ‘ till in the end, the King made himself Master of
 ‘ the City, and the Island was delivered to him.

‘ It must naturally be believed, that these mani-
 ‘ fest and authentick Acts of the Breach of Faith
 ‘ did not end there. But the Ministry of *Vienna*
 ‘ went so far, as to approve them by publick De-
 ‘ monstrations, and by the Recompences given to
 ‘ the most obstinate Rebels, and who distinguished
 ‘ themselves by their criminal Operations, declar-
 ‘ ing themselves thereby the Authors of Actions
 ‘ so injurious, committed by a People, so un-
 ‘ worthy, so vile, and so perfidious.

‘ The War which the *Turks* declared against the
 ‘ Emperor, presented certainly to his Majesty a
 ‘ fair Opportunity of revenging himself, and open-
 ‘ ed a Door to re-enter the Dominions usurped
 ‘ from him. But instead of taking advantage of
 ‘ that Conjuncture, he not only condescended not
 ‘ to disturb the Peace of *Italy*, but in opposition to
 ‘ his own Interest, he indirectly contributed to the
 ‘ aggrandizing of his Enemy, employing his own
 ‘ Forces, by a Motive of Religion, to reinforce
 ‘ the Allies of the Arch-Duke, and assist them in
 ‘ conquering his Enemies.

‘ The King after this believed, that a Conduct
 ‘ so sincere and disinterested would have produced
 ‘ in the Mind of the Arch-Duke, if not a Desire

‘ of Peace, at least the Attention and Regard which
‘ is observed even among declared Enemies, and
‘ the Generals of Armies in sight of one another, a-
‘ mong whom reciprocal Civilities are observed.
‘ But far from following that Practice, injurious
‘ Declarations have on the contrary been published
‘ at *Vienna*, in *Italy*, and in *Flanders*, against the
‘ Person of the King, and against his Crown; so
‘ far as to cause the Inquisitor-General of *Spain* to
‘ be seized, notwithstanding that he was furnished
‘ with the Pope’s Passport, fortified with the Con-
‘ sent and Approbation of Cardinal *Schrottenbach*.
‘ This last Act has recalled to the mind of his Ma-
‘ jesty the past Offences and the Obligations that
‘ lie upon a King, to revenge himself, and acquire
‘ Satisfaction for the Injuries he has suffered; which
‘ he cannot dispense with, without weakening his
‘ Authority in the Minds of his People; who will
‘ look upon him as incapable of securing their Re-
‘ pose, if he puts up the Affronts that are offered to
‘ his regal Dignity.

‘ Upon all which it is to be considered, that the
‘ Ministry of *Vienna* have at all times sought all
‘ means possible of humbling the Minds of a Na-
‘ tion so scrupulous and delicate in the Point of Ho-
‘ nour, and who take such Offence at a publick In-
‘ jury offered their King. Nothing but these seri-
‘ ous Considerations could have put a stop to the
‘ Course of his Majesty’s Intentions of sending the
‘ powerful Succours that were prepared against the
‘ Enemy of the Arch-Duke the *Turk*, and excite
‘ his Justice to employ them in a lawful Vengeance.

‘ Your Excellency is charged to make known,
‘ that his Majesty, who has concur’d in adjusting the
‘ Differences of *Rome*, with a Zeal and Intention
‘ so pure, for the Good and Honour of the Church,
‘ could never without the most powerful Motives,
‘ have stop’d those Forces with which he was always
‘ disposed

‘ disposed to aggrandize it. And it is a great Mortification to me to see, that these Succours, demanded by his Holiness, are for some time delay’d, which his Majesty, through a just Resentment, cannot avoid. It were to be hoped, that the Conduct of the Ministers of a Prince so considerable, as is the Arch-Duke, had been regulated and proportion’d to the Dignity of a Sovereign; and that they had not exposed themselves to the just Blame that is due to a continual and manifest Want of good Faith.’

This Letter or Manifesto, tho’ every body allowed it to be drawn with great Art, had by no means the desired Effect. The King of *Great Britain*, who, on the 25th of *May*, 1716, had signed a new *Treaty* with the *Emperor* at *London*, was thereby engaged, as well as by Inclination, to prevent the ambitious Designs of the Court of *Spain* from taking place; in order to which, he form’d a Scheme for uniting with himself *France*, then under the Dominion of the Duke of *Orleans* as *Regent*, and the *States-General*, in the Measures necessary for the Support of the Tranquility of *Europe*. With this View, he sent Orders to his Ministers, at the several Courts before-mention’d, to make the most pressing Representations on this head, and at the same time dispatch’d Mr. *Stanhope* to *Spain*, to second the no less pressing Instances of his Minister at that Court, to obtain a Delay of the Expedition against *Sardinia*. He wrote likewise a Letter to the *States-General*, setting forth the dangerous Consequences that would unavoidably attend the rekindling of a War in *Europe*; conjuring them to concur with him in taking quick and vigorous Measures for preventing them.

The Marquis *de Beretti Landi*, was at this time entrusted with the Care of his Catholick Majesty’s

Affairs at the *Hague*. He was an *Italian*, of quick Parts, and of a very insinuating Address, and because we shall have occasion to mention him very frequently hereafter, it may not be improper to insert here a concise Account of so considerable a Person. He was by Birth the Countryman of *Alberoni*, that is, of the Duchy of *Placentia*, descended of a noble Family, and educated with great care; he was Page to the last Duke of *Mantua*, afterwards his Counsellor, and at last Prime Minister. He had been employ'd in the Service of that Prince in most of the Courts of *Europe*, and had acquired so high a Reputation for his Skill in Negotiation, that, with the Consent of his Master, he entered into the Service of *Philip V.* at his earnest Desire. In the Year 1705, he was appointed Ambassador to the *Swiss Cantons*, with whom he concluded an Alliance, and by his Address maintained a good Correspondence, not only between the Catholick *Cantons*, but also between the Protestants and his Master, and constantly defeated all the Efforts of the Count *de Trautsmendorf* the Imperial Minister, which was of the highest Consequence to the Court of *Spain*. His great Abilities, and a pathetic Eloquence, in which he was superiour to most Men of his time, inclined his Catholick Majesty in 1716, to send him to the *Hague*, in the place of the Marquis *de Mirabella*; because it was foreseen that the Negotiations there would require a Minister of a calm Temper and great Capacity.

When the *Deputies* of the *States* acquainted this Minister with the Surprize they were under, at the Steps taken by his Court, he answer'd them very smoothly, assuring them, that he had no sort of Knowledge of the Expedition they mentioned, but that he was positive that his Catholick Majesty would not have taken this Step, but upon very clear, as well as strong Motives, and that he was also

also inclined to think, that upon the Remonstrances made by the King of *Great Britain*, and their *Highbightinesses*, he would content himself with the Conquest of *Sardinia*, without carrying his Arms farther. But when he saw, that such Excuses had not any great Effect, that the *States* seemed to act with greater Vigour than they had been wont to do, he chang'd his Conduct on the Arrival of a Courier from *Spain*, who either had brought, or he pretended had brought new Instructions; he demanded a Conference in his turn, at which he deliver'd a *Memorial*, drawn in a Stile peculiar to himself. He took notice of their having demanded of him the Reasons upon which his Court acted. He referred himself in part to the Letter of the Marquis *de Grimaldi*, and then as a Specimen only of the infinite Matter he had in his Head, he suggested several very extraordinary Instances of the Emperor's insidious Behaviour. Your *Highbightinesses*, said he, will observe, that when his Holiness demanded and obtained from the King my Master, a Promise that he would do nothing contrary to the Treaty for preserving the Neutrality of *Italy*, he likewise demanded from the *Arch-Duke* a Promise, that he would not on his side attempt, or countenance any Attempts to disturb his *Catholick Majesty* in *Spain*, or in any other of the Dominions yielded to him by the Treaty of *Utrecht*. To which he not only never consented, but he did not even think proper to give his Holiness an Answer. Then as to the *Treaty* of *Neutrality* itself, the *Arch-Duke* violated it frequently and openly. By virtue of it, *Father Molinos* the *Grand Inquisitor*, might, if he had thought proper, pass'd through the *Milaneze*, without any Passport; but to avoid all Disputes, he took one from his Holiness, which the Cardinal *de Schrottenbach* assured his Holiness, would have the utmost Respect paid to it; yet no

fooner was the Inquisitor in the power of the *Arch-Duke*, but he caused him to be arrested, and detains him still as a Prisoner. By the *Treaty of Neutrality*, the *Italian* Princes were put under Cover; yet your *High Mightinesses* know what excessive Contributions have been extorted from them, notwithstanding that Treaty. The Edict published at *Vienna*, in relation to the Dominion of the Republick of *Venice* over the *Adriatick*, is still more surprizing. That Republick is engaged in a War with the *Turk*, as well as the *Arch-Duke*; she has lately made a Treaty with him, whereby God only knows what she has been forced to yield, and yet at this very juncture, the *Arch-Duke* strikes as it were a Dagger into her Bosom. Permit me to say, that in taking notice of this Fact, I lay down a very useful Maxim for the benefit of whatever Court may have occasion to negotiate with that Prince. I must likewise further observe, that in direct Violation of this Treaty, the *Arch-Duke* keeps up at *Vienna* what he calls a Council of *Spain*, wherein there is nothing agitated, but such Designs as tend to the Disturbance of my Master. In this Council, there has been lately concerted a Scheme for seizing this Winter the *Port of Leghorn*. Your *High Mightinesses* know of what Importance such a Step would be to all *Europe*. You cannot but see how openly this Prince pursues the great Point of ingrossing all *Italy*. At the late Congress at *Baden*, the *Italian* Princes had their Ministers; but they were sent away with this rude Answer, That they ought to make their Applications no where but at the Court of *Vienna*. What they are to expect there, we may well enough conceive from the *Arch-Duke's* keeping *Mantua*, which is the Citadel of *Italy*, notwithstanding the Rights of a certain *Family* so strongly attached to him, that all the Evasions of his *Aulic* Council can never qualify his Usurpation.

Let

Let me farther, said he, remark to your High Mightinesses, that the Point his *Britannick Majesty* and yourselves seem to have in view, is the maintaining the *Balance of Power* in *Europe*. Now the Balance of Power in *Europe* depends immediately on a Balance of Power in *Italy*; and it would be extremely odd to think of maintaining that, by supporting the Pretensions of a *Prince*, who endeavours to overturn it. The Marquis concluded his Memorial, with the strongest Assurances of his *Catholick Majesty's* Friendship for their *High Mightinesses*, and kind Inclinations towards their Subjects in point of Trade, &c. A thing this Minister constantly asserted in private Discourse, and by asserting which, he hoped to carry his point, both with those in the Government and with the People. I have given place to these Memorials, in order to shew the Temper and Address of the *Spanish Minister*; but as an exact Account of the Transactions in *Spain*, from this Time to the Expulsion of the *Cardinal Alberoni*, would take up a great deal of room, without allowing me to say much of him, whose Memoirs I am writing, I shall therefore, as I apprehend, take a shorter and better Method, and laying before the Eyes of the Reader, what is necessary to make the following Sheets thoroughly understood, I shall refer him for other Particulars to the *Histories* of those Times, which are or shall be written.

In the first place, I shall state the Views of the *Spanish Ministry*, while *Cardinal Alberoni* was at the head of it. I shall next take notice of the *Schemes* of the *Emperor* and his *Allies*, for thwarting the Designs of the *Spanish Ministry*. Then I shall consider the Means employed by the *former*, to defeat by Art the *superiour Force* of the *latter*: And lastly, I shall give a short View of the Consequences of this Struggle, which will lead me to shew the

State

State of Affairs at the time the *Baron de Ripperda* began to act for himself, and upon his own *Maxims*.

The Situation of his *Catholick Majesty's* Affairs at the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, was such, as on the whole made it very advantageous to him; for it left him in full possession of *Spain* and the *West Indies*, and it procured the re-acknowledging him as the Sovereign of those Countries by *Great Britain* and *Holland*. But notwithstanding all this, the Terms stipulated by that Treaty left great Heart-burnings and Uneasiness in the Breast of his Majesty, the *Grandeess* of *Spain*, and the *Italian Princes*, which it will be necessary to explain. King *Philip* saw his Country in a very distressed and miserable Condition, by a long and cruel War, and himself by certain Circumstances of the Peace left without Power to remedy these Evils. It was agreed, that *Catalonia* should be delivered up to him, and yet he saw himself constrained to conquer it; in order to which, he was forced, if I may be allowed the Expression, to beg Alms from door to door, his Treasury being so exhausted, that for a Supply, he published a Decree, setting forth the Nature of the Expedition, the Necessity and Consequence thereof, beseeching all Degrees of People, to give what they could spare, and ordering a distinct Receipt to be given to every Person, expressing his Title and the Sum received. After all, *Barcelona* never had been reduced, if its Reduction had depended on the Power of *Spain*, and *Majorca* still disowned his Authority, when all the other Princes who were concerned in the War, had all things yielded to them, without Trouble or Expence. He had the mortification to see himself obliged not only to give up *Naples*, which had once been his; but had also the additional Grief of delivering up *Sicily*, which was yet in his Power. He saw likewise the strong Fortress of *Gibraltar*,
and

and the Island of *Minorca* left in the hands of the *English*, after having lost many thousands of Men, and spent Millions in fruitless Endeavours to wrest them out of their hands. In one word, he saw the War at an end, and yet himself not at Peace, a part of his Subjects ruined for having been loyal to him, and himself under a necessity of ruining the rest, because they had not been loyal, his Title unacknowledged by his Competitor, and his new Friends but very ill-satisfied with their being consider'd in that light: All his hopes resting on his Grandfather, who had placed him upon his Throne, and who dying left him without one cordial Ally, or any Power, whom he could safely call a Friend.

The *Grande*es of *Spain* had just Reasons also to be not a little displeased with the State they were in. For besides that Eclipse, which the Lustre of the *Spanish* Diadem had received by the dismembring of the *Italian* Dominions, they had been trebly injured. First, their Estates in *Spain* were ruined in the Course of the War, and the precarious State of things left them little hopes of repairing themselves by the Peace. Next, they had many of them large Concerns in *Sicily* and *Naples*, which were now greatly in danger, if not lost. Lastly, the Court was governed by the Princess of *Ursins*, or at least by Foreigners in her Favour, and themselves very little considered by a *French* Prince, whom by their steady Loyalty they had set upon the Throne.

As for the Princes of *Italy*, they were truly in a deplorable Situation. For several Centuries, they had preserved themselves by balancing the Power of Strangers; and tho' they were never absolutely at quiet, yet they reaped some Benefit even from this Evil, because they were constantly awake, and by proper Negotiations kept the *French* and *Spanish* Power pretty equally poized. At the Treaty of *Utrecht*, they saw themselves in danger of Ruin,
and

and their Ruin seemed to be sealed by the Treaty of *Baden*. The Emperor stood possessed of the great Duchy of *Milan*, of the Duchy of *Mantua* and its Dependencies, of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and of the Island of *Sardinia*, the Duke of *Modena* was absolutely his Creature, he formed Pretensions upon the Duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, he treated the *Great Duke* haughtily, the Pope with Contempt, the *Venetians* as People who could do nothing without him, the King of *Sicily* as one he could not confide in, and the State of *Genoa* as a City at his mercy. In this miserable Situation the *Italian* Powers, always attentive to their Interest, and ever prone to Intrigues, began to cast their eyes on every side, and as there is just reason to believe, had set on foot some Negotiations in *France*, when the unexpected Death of *Lewis XIV.* left them destitute at once of Hope and of Help.

While King *Philip* the Vth's first Queen lived, and during the short Interval after her Death, wherein all things were directed by the Princess of *Ursins*, the Politics of the *Spanish* Court were not very intelligible. The *Cardinal del Giudice* persuaded their Majesties, that they ought to think of nothing so much as establishing their own Authority, and securing effectually the Dominions which God had given them. He quieted the *Spanish* Nobility with hopes of recovering *Sicily*, by virtue of some secret Treaty with the Duke of *Savoy*, the Queen's Father, to whom that Island had been given. He amused the *Italians* with various Negotiations, and in fact endeavoured all he could to secure the Interests of his Family, by keeping a Door open for a Reconciliation with the *Arch-Duke*, as the *Emperor* was called in *Spain*. This last might have been easily effected, if he had proposed the eldest *Leopoldine Arch-Duchess*, for the Wife of his Master, after the Decease of his first Queen; but neglecting

lecting to do this time enough, *Alberoni* found a Method of transacting the whole Business of the Marriage with the Princess of *Parma*, not only without his Advice and Consent, but even without his Knowledge; and after it had taken effect, so exposed his Errors and the inexplicable Artifice of his Conduct, that as we have shewn before, he was obliged to retire.

As for Cardinal *Alberoni*, he, from the beginning of his Ministry, affected an impenetrable Secrecy, in which he was so lucky as to amuse all the Princes of *Europe* for many Months, and to deceive the famous *Victor Amadeus*, King of *Sicily*, and Duke of *Savoy*, who very justly pass for the most sagacious Prince of his time. But by degrees the Mystery of his Policy hath been unravell'd; and we may now with certainty lay down what his real and what his pretended Designs were. First then, he gave their Majesties the strongest Assurances, that he would make them powerful and absolute, that he would restore to the Crown of *Spain* the Provinces that had been taken from it, and by improving the Trade and Manufactures of the Kingdom, make the People rich and happy. He persuaded the Grandees, that he had nothing in view but the Glory and Interest of *Spain*; under colour of supporting of which, he drew from them, partly by fair means, partly by force, immense Sums, which he employ'd in raising Armies, building Ships, repairing Fortresses, establishing Manufactures, and embroiling foreign Courts, that he might carry on his own Schemes without Interruption. As to the *Italian* Princes, they had all the reason in the world to be satisfied with him, for he was in reality more their Minister than the King of *Spain's*. His great View was to free *Italy* from the Terror of the House of *Austria*. To effect this, he resolved to establish the Right of Succession to *Parma* and *Placentia*, and even

even to the Dukedom of *Tuscany*, in the Descendants of the Queen of *Spain*. He projected the Conquest of *Sardinia* and *Sicily* by force of Arms; after which *Naples* was to follow, and what else we know not. But in the course of his Enterprizes, it is certain, that he stript the Emperor of *Sardinia*, before any body was aware of it, and that he afterwards duped the King of *Sicily*, by a feigned Negotiation for the Exchange of that Kingdom for *Naples*, while he prepared all things for the Conquest of that Island, which he well nigh effected.

As the expected Success of the Cardinal's Designs could result from nothing but their being well concealed, one need not wonder so much as many have done at the Maxims pursued by this great Minister; neither ought the indefinite Marks of Respect, which were paid him by all Degrees of People, to be stamp'd with so harsh an Epithet, as that of servile Dependance. His Eminence had the good luck, not only to persuade their Majesties, but also some of the most intelligent Persons in *Spain* that he had nothing in view but the restoring the Monarchy to that Glory from which it had fallen, since the days of *Philip II.* And it must be owned, that his Expressions were not at all too big for his Actions. *Spain*, during his Administration, wore a new face, and in the space of a few Months, from being the most dejected, became the most considered Court in *Europe*. Money circulated every where, there sprung up an Appearance of Trade and Business, where it had never been heard of; the Government employ'd a multitude of Persons in several kinds of work, and paid them generously and punctually. If he fitted out Fleets, they were not for Shew; if he raised Money on the People, the meanest of the People knew how it was employ'd. Can one wonder after this at the Submission paid to *Alberoni*, whose Birth was so far from being a Disgrace

grace to the Honours he had received, that his Abilities seemed to efface both the Memory of it and of his Honours ; for he appeared to govern rather in right of his superiour Genius, than from the Favour of Fortune.

But tho' he was the *Primum Mobile* in Spain, and reserved within his own Breast the great Secrets of Government, yet he did not discover any fear of Men of Parts, or pretend to sprinkle the Courts of Europe with Blockheads of his own chusing. No ! he continued in their Offices all such Ministers as he thought were equal to them. The Baron *de Ripperda* he found in great Confidence with their Majesties, and by degrees he took him into his. He knew him to be a Man of quick Parts, and the most capable of conceiving and expressing the nicest Points of Politicks of any Man of his Age. He had a proper Respect for the solid Capacity of the Marquis *de Grimaldi*, who spoke in Sentences, and whose Opinion, when he thought fit to give it, was very justly honoured. When therefore the Cardinal resolved to carry any thing into Action, he first consulted the Marquis *de Grimaldi*, and having had his Approbation, he employ'd *Ripperda* in the actual Execution thereof. The Prince *de Cellamere* he found Minister at the French Court, and he left him there, tho' he was the Nephew of his Predecessor whom he had treated but indifferently after his Disgrace. He confided in the Marquis *Beretti Landi*, tho' he was no Creature of his, and made use of the Duke *de Monteleon* at the Court of Great Britain, meerly because he was a very capable Person. Let us now see how the Enemies of Spain and of *Alberoni*, contrived to defeat the great Designs formed by this en-zing Ecclesiastick in that Kingdom.

The Emperor, who notwithstanding the Necessity of his Affairs had obliged him to abandon the Possession, still kept the Title, and looked upon him-

self as the rightful Owner of the Crown of *Spain*, never suffered the Affairs of that Country to lose the first Place in his Thoughts. He had left a considerable Body of Troops in *Sardinia*, under the Command of the Marquis *de Rubi*, one of the Chiefs of the *Catalans*, who had found means to make his Escape when *Barcelona* was surrender'd. His Imperial Majesty kept also a great Army in *Italy*, where he terrify'd the Duke of *Parma* to such a degree, that he requested the Pope to set up his Standard in his Capital, in order to cover him a little from the *Austrian* Resentment. After the Reduction of *Sardinia*, the Emperor kept no Measures with the Pope, but, by his Minister Count *Gallas*, demanded from him such Concessions as were altogether inconsistent with the Right he pretended to have to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and after the great Victories obtained by *Prince Eugene* over the *Turks*, the aforesaid Minister insisted, that the Pope should take from *Alberoni* the Cap he had given him, on pretence that he had drawn the King of *Spain* into a Treaty with the *Turk*, which, it was said, was negotiated by the *Prince de Cellamere*. But this could never be made out, tho' the *German* Minister so insulted the Holy Father thereupon, that he burst out into Tears. When Matters came to a Crisis, the Emperor remained firm, and relying on his own Strength, declared he would hear of no Treaty, nor submit to any Mediation till *Sardinia* was restored, and Cardinal *Alberoni* disgraced.

George I. King of *Great Britain*, appeared from his ascending that Throne a Prince to whom Fortune had given nothing more than he deserved. Some warm People expected, that he would have relinquished the Peace of *Utrecht*; but his Majesty was better advis'd, and resolv'd, if possible, to keep both his People and his Neighbours quiet. With this view, he entered into very strict Alliances with the

the *Emperor* and with *France*. When *Alberoni's* Projects began to take effect, he instantly concerted Measures for maintaining the Balance of Power in *Europe*, or rather for supporting a certain System, which himself and his Allies thought necessary for the Preservation of the publick Tranquillity; and after the Conquest of *Sardinia*, he expressly declared, that he should think himself obliged to assist the *Emperor*, in case any Attempt was made on his *Italian* Dominions, which in all probability saved *Naples*; not that his *Britannick* Majesty intended to abandon *Sardinia* to *Spain*, but by stopping her Proceedings for the present, to gain time for a Negotiation, which he soon after set on foot for a general Pacification.

The Duke of *Orleans*, who under the Title of Regent governed the Kingdom of *France*, as absolutely at least as any of her Princes had ever done, and who had prodigious Designs in view, saw himself under a necessity of cultivating a strict Friendship with *Great Britain*, and also of watching over the Designs of *Spain*, where he knew that neither their Majesties nor their Minister's Designs were favourable to him; and therefore he took such steps, as to him seemed most adviseable, without consulting at all the Ministry of *Spain*. In this Disposition, he sent the *Abbé du Bois* into *England*, to regulate there the Expedients which should be found necessary for preserving the Peace of *Europe*, and in consequence of whose Negotiations the Quadruple Alliance was afterwards formed.

As for their High Mightinesses the States-General, they consulted on this, as on all other Occasions, the Welfare of their Constituents; that is to say, they heard all Parties, confer'd with all Parties, and did all in their Power to be upon good Terms with all Parties. Their Interest and their Inclinations led them to wish well to the Projects of *Great Britain* and *France*; but as they saw that

the Execution of those Projects might possibly embarrass their Trade, tho' they gave very good words to the *Imperial*, *British*, and *French* Ministers, yet they gave no ill ones to the *Spanish* Minister, by which, at a juncture when the greatest Powers carried their points but in part, the States might justly boast to have succeeded in all without hazarding any thing. Their very Minister at *Madrid* lived upon good terms, and even in Intimacy with the Baron *de Ripperda*, who, whatever his Enemies might say of him, did never forget the Place of his Nativity, or its Interest. But as these Intrigues could not be carried on without being known to so penetrating a Minister as the Cardinal, we ought next to consider the Methods made use of by him to defeat these Contrivances.

As to the *Emperor*, *Alberoni* either looked upon his Aversion as so reasonably founded, or else conceived it to be so thoroughly rooted, that he never opposed any thing to it but Force. Born as he was a Subject to the Duke of *Parma*, and living so many Years in the Service of the Duke *de Vendome*, he had acquired an Aversion to the House of *Austria*, which he sanctified with the all-attoning Name of Love for his Country. As to any Intercourse with the *Turk*, as there was no Evidence of it, he ought to stand acquitted. Besides, he certainly influenced the King of *Spain* to send a Squadron to the Relief of *Corfu*, which the Cardinal *del Giudice* would have sent against the Pope, tho' he was cry'd up as a Saint by those who cried out against *Alberoni* as a Devil. At first, the Cardinal thought of caressing the *English* Nation, and of securing their Friendship, by favouring their Trade. His Knowledge of the Interest of *Great Britain* induced him to hope, by good Offices and enlarging the Commerce of her Subjects, to bring her to his Terms. As a trading Nation he had much to offer her, and this without Prejudice to *Spain*, whose People were
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more inclined to deal with the *English* than any body else. His Correspondence with our Minister contributed to his forming these Notions, of which he was very tenacious. But discovering their In-
gagements with the Emperor, and being fully informed by a Spy he had at *Hanover*, of all things done by King *George* while he resided there, he determined to take another Course, and with that view fell to intriguing with the Courts of *Muscovy* and *Sweden*, whom he sought to ingage in the Interest of the *Chevalier de St. George*, while he projected also an Invasion from *Spain*. He likewise contrived a Method for employing the *Regent* so effectually at home, that he would have had no opportunity of looking abroad. With this view, he persuaded the *Catholick King* to take the Title of *Regent of France*, influenced many of the *French* Nobility to oppose the *Regent's* Designs, and at length engaged a great Prince of the Blood to enter into his Measures. His chief Agents in this extraordinary Business were the *Prince de Cellamere*, and the *Abbot de Portocarrero*; the sole Person trusted in *Spain* was the Baron *de Ripperda*, who drew all the Papers, which were sent from time to time to the *Prince de Cellamere*. As to the *Dutch*, the Marquis *de Beretti Landi* was instructed to magnify the Advantages they might receive from their living upon good Terms with *Spain*, and the mighty hazard their Trade would run in case of a Rupture. These were the Methods this great Man imploy'd to baffle the greatest Powers, and the greatest Politicians in *Europe*; and by the Dint of his Genius, he in reality created such Difficulties to the Enemies of his Master, and so alarmed them with the Apprehensions of unforeseen Mischiefs of his inducing, that they were more solicitous to procure his Removal from the Councils of *Spain*, than they were to carry on the War, which was ready to break out, with Success.

To say the truth, they had very just Reason to be extremely apprehensive of this intriguing Priest. For nothing is more certain, than that Providence only prevented both *Great Britain* and *France* from being plunged into all the Miseries of Civil War, in consequence of his Contrivances. It is generally thought, that the first Discovery of the Designs concerted against the Regent, were made in *England* by means of some who were taken up for endeavouring to raise a Rebellion there. His *Britannick Majesty* having given notice to the *Duke of Orleans* of what was suspected, his Royal Highness was amazed thereat, the Prince *de Cellamere* having such an Interest with him, as had engaged him to send Orders to the *Abbé du Bois* to avoid for some time acquiescing under the Measures taken by the Court of *Great Britain*. On the back of this Information, the *Abbot de Portocarrero* was arrested, as he returned into *Spain*, on meer Suspicion, because he hazarded his Life to save his Cloak-Bag, which by the overturning of the Chaise, fell into the River. The Dispatches in that Cloak-Bag discovered the whole Secret of the *French* Conspiracy, which was of such a nature, that it struck all the World with Terrour. There was not only a Rebellion to have been raised, but regular Forces were actually introduced into the Kingdom, and even into the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, no body knew how. The Regent was to have been seized, and carried Prisoner into *Spain*, and the whole Face of the Government to be changed. On this Discovery the Prince *de Cellamere* was invited to an Audience, where he was secured, his Papers being seized in the mean time. It then appear'd, that the Cardinal's Intrigues were still more dangerous than they had ever been apprehended, because there were found amongst them Addresses from the Nobility and Clergy of *France* to King *Philip*; setting forth the distressed Condition in which they were, the oppressive Administration of
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of the Regent, and the Fears they were under for the King's Safety; beseeching him not to forget the Tenderneſs due to his native Country, but to exert the Force of *Spain* to ſave *France*; which, by exerting her utmoſt Force, had ſeated him on the Throne of *Spain*. The Duke of *Orleans* treated theſe Papers as Fictions and Forgeries, tho' he knew very well they were genuine; however, he had the Army at his devotion, and therefore without farther hesitation, he declared War againſt *Spain*, and made Preparations for invading it.

But the Powers allied with the *Emperor*, could not be charged with breaking abruptly with that Court; on the contrary, they made uſe of all Methods poſſible to induce his Catholick Maſteſty to be ſatiſfied with the Terms ſtipulated for him. Theſe were at firſt but very indifferent; but by the Interpoſition of the *Regent*, who did not forget either his Relation to the King of *Spain*, or the Intereſt of *France*, in ſupporting that Branch of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, they were brought to be ſo advantageous, that it was with great Difficulty the Cardinal-Miniſter prevail'd on his Maſter to reject them. It deſerves ſome Inquiry as to the Motives which induced his Eminence to take a ſtep ſo viſibly oppoſite to his own Intereſt; for had he fix'd the Affairs of *Spain* at that time on a firm Baſis, it might moſt certainly have preſerved his own Power much longer. Now the true Reaſon of this was, his conceiving himſelf ſecure of carrying his whole Scheme into Execution, and thereby exalting the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, which he governed abſolutely, to that envied Point of Greatneſs, in which it ſtood at the Death of *Charles V.* He knew his Imperial Maſteſty had no maritime Force, and therefore he deſpiſed his Threatnings; he reckoned on it as a thing certain, that the States would never hazard their great Trade with *Spain* and the *Spaniſh* *West-Indies*, by any ſudden or vigorous Reſolution; and he perſuaded

suaded himself, that neither *Great Britain* nor *France* would actually make War on *Spain*, if the Emperor's Dominions were not attacked. These Notions led him to conclude, that *Sicily* might be reduced without a War, because at this time it belong'd to the Duke of *Savoy*; and his Design of reducing it was not known, or so much as suspected in *France*, *Britain*, or *Holland*. But what he chiefly reckon'd upon was an Alliance he had negotiated with certain Princes, which hitherto have not been, nor are yet proper to name. His rejecting the Proposals of Peace, and sending a Fleet to invade *Sicily*, brought things to extremity, of which we are next to see the Issue.

The Emperor gained such an Ascendancy over his Allies, that it was not only stipulated to preserve for him all the Dominions he at that time possessed in *Italy*, but also to procure for him the Restitution of *Sardinia*, and the Exchange of that Island for *Sicily*. *France*, under the Direction of the Regent, concurr'd heartily in compelling King *Philip* to accept of the Terms prescribed to him by the Quadruple Alliance. The King of *Great Britain* sent a strong Fleet, under the Command of Sir *George Byng*, into the *Mediterranean*, with Instructions to mediate by fair means, or by foul; which Method of negotiating seeming new to the Cardinal, overturned all his Schemes, and as he rose by unexpected Successes, he fell by an unexpected Blow.

By the Discovery of the Plot in *France*, the Cardinal's Courage was shaken. For tho' he struggled afterwards, in hopes of still bringing Matters to bear in that Kingdom, yet it was rather to shew he was resolved not to go back, than out of any hopes of being able to go forward. The Destruction of the *Spanish* Fleet by Sir *George Byng*, shewed the naval Force of *Spain* to be but a Phantom, and the transporting Imperial Troops into *Sicily* by the same Admiral,

Admiral, destroy'd the Expectations that had been conceived of the speedy Reduction of that Island. The quick Progress of the *French* Army which entered *Spain* by Land, and the incredible Mischiefs done, both by the *English* and *French*, in the Sea-ports, and the vanishing of that secret Alliance, which swallowed up vast Sums, without producing any thing, overwhelm'd the Fortune of *Alberoni*, tho' it neither broke his Spirits, nor engaged him to abandon his Designs, or submit to those Conditions, which the greatest Powers in *Europe* had bound themselves by Treaty to make the Rule of *Europe's* Repose. It was the Regent who found a way to destroy him with their Catholick Majesties, and he did this notwithstanding all the Efforts made by the Czar *Peter I.* to hinder him from concurring with his *Britannick* Majesty. For that restless and ambitious Monarch, charm'd with the Boldness of *Alberoni's* Projects, had really a mind to have struck in with them, and to have given a new Turn to all things. But the Regent would not listen to the Representations made by the *Russian* Minister, but prosecuted his own Scheme with effect.

On the 5th of *December*, 1719, Cardinal *Alberoni* received Orders to appear no more in any Councils, not to enter the Royal Presence, or that of any of the Royal Infants, to leave *Madrid* in eight Days, and the Dominions of *Spain* in three Weeks. Which Order his Majesty signified to be a necessary Act, for removing the grand Obstacle to a general Peace. The Cardinal obey'd this Order, and had the Courage to pass through *France* in his way to *Italy*, whither it is not our business to accompany him. On the 17th of *February* following, the Marquis *de Beretti Landi* signed the Quadruple Alliance, which entirely subverted the Cardinal's System, and gave a new face to the Affairs of *Europe*.

The Conditions of Peace granted to *Spain* by the Quadruple Alliance need not be mention'd; but

those demanded by *Spain* were briefly these: 1. All the Places taken from the Crown of *Spain*, either in *Europe* or *America*, shall be restored. 2. His Catholick Majesty shall be at full liberty to transport his Forces, Artillery, &c. from *Sicily* into *Spain*. 3. All the Men of War and Gallies, taken on the 11th of *August*, 1718, shall be restored, as shall also a certain Vessel, belonging to his Catholick Majesty, seized in the Port of *Brest*. 4. That the Cession of *Sicily*, in favour of the House of *Austria*, shall be on the same Terms as the Cession made to the Duke of *Savoy*; that is, with a Reservation of his Catholick Majesty's Right, in case of a Failure of Male-Issue. 5. That * * * * and * * * * shall be restored to *Spain*. 6. That *Orbitello*, *Porto Hercole*, and their Dependencies be restored to *Spain*. 7. That the Right of Succession to the Duchies of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, shall be secured to the Heirs Male of the Queen of *Spain*, and some other Articles of less Importance. By these Demands (as we shall see hereafter) *Spain* hath always regulated her future Views.

It ought to be remarked, that in this Settlement of Affairs the *English* not only treated but acted, and yet after they were victorious, not only consented to restore the Ships taken at *Messina*, but also gave way to some kind of Promise or Engagement, which has been insisted on ever since. Whereas the States-General, tho' they were at first Nominal Parties, and at length acceded to the Quadruple Alliance, yet did nothing against *Spain*, but had the honour of persuading his Catholick Majesty to accept of Peace, as appears by a Letter under his own hand, dated at *Madrid*, *January* 4, 1720, wherein he expresses himself towards them with all the marks of cordial Love and Affection possible. I say, these Circumstances ought to be remark'd, because things have gone on ever since in the same Train; that is, we have made continual Concessions

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to *Spain*, yet *Spain* has remained continually dissatisfied with us, and the *French* and *Dutch* have made their Advantages of this Dissatisfaction: Tho' it does not appear that either of them is so natural an Ally to *Spain* as *Great Britain*, nor were ever consider'd as such by the *Spaniards* themselves, till within these twenty Years.

We have now done for the present with the Affairs of *Europe*, in the Conduct of which the Baron *de Ripperda*, tho' he had appear'd but little, had a large Concern. By the Ruin of Cardinal *Alberoni* he saw himself entirely lost at Court; for the Marquis *de Grimaldi*, who in conjunction with M. *de la Paz*, and M. *Patinbo*, came to have the Direction of Affairs, was in his Nature slow and cautious, little affected from the beginning towards *Ripperda*, and glad of this Occasion to mortify a Man whom he look'd upon as a Creature of *Alberoni*'s. In this Situation M. *de Ripperda* acted better than could have been expected from a Man so long used to Courts. He submitted to the Will of Providence without murmuring, he supported that share of Coldness which is always shewn towards unlucky Politicians, not only with great firmness, but with an indifference, which shew'd that firmness did not cost him dear. In a word, he retired easily and with a seeming chearfulness, from the hurry of a Palace to the quiet of a Country Retreat; and he did it with so good a Grace, that many who knew him well thought there was more in it of choice than constraint. As we have no Intention to make a *Hero* of him of whom we are speaking, we shall very readily own, that those who made such conjectures were not at all mistaken. For notwithstanding the Baron enjoy'd the Cardinal Minister's Favour and made large Advantages thereby, yet besides the pain and perplexity attending the Affairs in which he was engaged, he suffered so much from the Haughtiness, unforeseen Heats, causeless Jealousies

lousies and outrageous Transports of *Alberoni*, that to a Man of the Baron's Spirit and polite Disposition, there could not be a Life more uneasy than that he led. Besides, after his Eminence retired to *Italy*, and even for some Weeks before, the People at *Madrid* were in a manner distracted: For as they were continually receiving Expresses with ill News, and as every Tradesman in *Madrid* is a profound Politician, so the confusion encreased hourly, and according to the *Spanish* Loyalty, the Curses which never ascend to the Throne, fell by a side Wind upon all who had been Friends to the Ministry. It is the Custom at *Madrid* for the meanest Tradesmen to give their Sentiments on State Affairs, and as they are a thinking shrewd People, it is not to be conceived how quick they are in their guesses, and what extraordinary Judgments they form of things. Neither does the dread of ministerial Spies, or the vicinity of the Royal Palace, hinder them from speaking their Sentiments freely and openly: The common Cry under the King's Apartments in such times being, Long live our Sovereign, but may the wicked Ministry perish. These Circumstances taken together, might well induce M. *de Ripperda* to think that the loss of Favour was balanced by his Safety, and the Splendor he had hitherto lived in well exchanged for the Peace and Quiet of a rural Retreat.

The Baron, in quality of Director of the Manufactures of *Spain*, had still an Employment, but in as much as those Manufactures were entirely at a stand, he had the Name of an Employment only, without having any thing to do. He withdrew therefore to a Seat he had at *Segovia*, where he lived more like a Philosopher, or a Man weary of the World, than a Politician, or one who had still any Remains of Ambition. As for Madam *Ripperda*, she was so far from regretting, that she was perfectly charmed with the Change of their Affairs. She loved
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her Husband, was extremely fond of her Children, and managed her Family with great Prudence and Economy. It was with regret, she saw her Husband entirely taken up with Politics, and either pensively musing on Schemes, as yet half formed, or excessively hurried in the execution of such as had received the necessary Approbations. His eldest Son's Education furnished a rational, as well as sufficient Employment for the Baron, who spent his leisure Moments in Conversation with the Jesuits, in whom he always confided. As for Madam *de Ripperda*, when her Family-Concerns allowed her any Relaxation, a neighbouring Convent furnished her with Means of improving herself in Acts of Religion and Piety, which she much affected. Thus the time past away pleasantly at least, if not with Eclât; and if their Imaginations were not occupied by the fine Prospects, afforded by Hope, they were at least free from all Apprehensions, and enjoyed what the Great never enjoy, the Absence of Fear. But this Scene did not last very long, it changed to one more gaudy, tho' not more happy; however, without any Motion made by the Baron, beyond his Expectation, nay indeed without his Knowledge.

While the Baron was entirely occupied with his domestic Concerns, he was surprized with an Order from the King, to use his utmost Endeavours to procure Workmen of all sorts, for the carrying on the Manufactures of which he had the Direction. He did not hesitate at all in paying that Obedience which was due to his Majesty's Commands, but immediately prepared for his Return to *Madrid*, very little to Madam *de Ripperda's* Satisfaction. On his Arrival, he went to pay his Court to their Majesties, and met with a very open as well as gracious Reception. The King spoke to him with all his usual Kindness; the Queen at first look'd on him a little coldly, but after having reproached him

him with leaving the Court abruptly, living entirely in the Country, and abandoning as it were all Care of the Publick, she entertained him very familiarly, and with much Respect. *M. de Ripperda* thank'd her Majesty in the most expressive Terms, for the seextraordinary and most unexpected Marks of her Goodness. He assured her, that his Retreat into the Country was not mixt with any Disgust, and that his abstaining from Court, was meerly to avoid being troublesome to their Majesties, when it did not appear to him that he could be any longer serviceable to them. It was the King himself, who informed *M. de Ripperda* of the Nature of that Commission with which he intended to charge him. A Commission arduous in itself, and yet seemingly of less consequence than those in which hitherto the Baron had been imployed. However, like a true Courtier, he stifled all his Resentments, and undertook, with a seemingly good Grace, a Journey into *France*, which he would have avoided had it been in his power.

It is not certain, who advised the sending into *France* for woollen Manufacturers; but we may be positive, it was not the Duke *de Ripperda*, who understood those things much too well to believe, that it was either profitable to settle *French* Workmen in *Spain*, or, if it had been so, that it was possible to get them out of their own Country. It was however his Duty to discharge his Commission, which he did with all the Diligence imaginable, but with a Success no way suited to his pains; for after traversing all *France*, he found it impossible to engage so much as a single Workman. Vexed at this Disappointment, and fully resolved not to return into *Spain*, without performing effectually the Commission with which he was charged, he continued his Journey to *Holland*, where he knew there was a greater probability of finding Workmen, as well as a much greater Facility in transporting

porting them into *Spain*. His Friends in *Holland* were charmed with his Return; they came and paid their Compliments to him with all the Warmth and Affection that could have been expected, if he had been cloathed with ever so high a Character, or if he had already worn those Honours, with which he was afterwards adorned; they felicitated him on the Confidence reposed in him by the Court of *Spain*; they expressed their Satisfaction as to the Services he had done his Country, but in regard to his Religion they were wholly silent; they saw he either was, or affected to be thought a very devout Papist, and therefore they knew, that however tenderly they might touch the Subject, it could not but be disagreeable.

While the Baron *de Ripperda* was negotiating in *Holland*, his Affairs were in but an odd Train in *Spain*. Madam *de Ripperda*, who placed her whole Felicity in keeping her Husband to herself, and who was never so well pleased as when he had no Business at Court, lamented his Absence passionately so long as he continued in *France*; but when once she knew that he was arrived at the *Hague*, she lost all Patience, supposing that the many Friends he had in the *United Provinces* might influence him to remain there; and such an Aversion had she conceived against her Country, that she was more terrified for this Event, than for the News of his Death. The Expressions of her Concern, which might perhaps be a little too vehement, were not very serviceable to her Husband; but on the contrary, served to give credit to some Reports which were much to his disadvantage. Envy is always an Attendant on Merit, and it was impossible for M. *de Ripperda*, who had so much of the latter, not to feel sometimes the Effects of the former, especially when he had most Credit at Court. But his Enemies, watchful and malicious as they were, never had so fair an Opportunity of stabbing his Character,

rafter, as while he refided in *Holland*. They knew he had failed in his Expectations, or rather in answering the Expectations of the Court by his Transactions in *France*; and therefore they did not fail to reprelent his Journey to the *Hague*, as a Defer-tion of his *Catholick Majesty's* Service, and they even ſcrupled not to advance a multitude of their own ill-natur'd and ill-grounded Suspicions, as if they had been written to them by their Correspondents in the *Low Countries*: which Artifices had in part the Effect they desired, the raising a Diffidence in the *Spanish* Ministry of the Fidelity of their Agent.

But while these Intrigues were at the greatest height, and those who carried them on had the most sanguine Expectations, a Ship arrived at *Cadiz* with fifty Manufacturers on board, whom the Baron *de Ripperda* had drawn together in *Holland*, and with them came such a Memorial of the Pains he had taken, and of the Issue of his Inquiries, as to the Method of establishing and conducting a Woollen Manufacture, as effectually removed all Doubts of his Fidelity, and left his Enemies without a word to say. In a short time after, having compleated all that he was sent to perform, M. *de Ripperda* returned himself, and was received, not only by their Majesties, but by the Ministry, with all the Kindness imaginable. He stood however indebted for part of these Favours to the warm Sollicitations of certain powerful Friends, and especially those of the *Jesuits*. As these Reverend Fathers had the honour of bringing back the Baron into the Bosom of the Church, as he always honoured them with his Confidence, and spent most of his leisure Hours in Conversations with the most distinguished Persons of their Order, they considered him as a Man devoted to their Interests, from whom they might expect all things, and for whom consequently they could never do too much. As they had a great

great Interest in some of the Ministry, particularly in the Marquis *Grimaldi* and Don *Patinbo*, they laboured most assiduously to remove the Prejudices they had conceived against *Ripperda*, and herein they succeeded so perfectly, that, from a great Coldness which they had formerly shewn towards him, they now began to care for him, and to give way to that Inclination towards him, which they knew their Majesties always had. But the Baron *de Ripperda* did not make any quick, or extraordinary Use, of these new and unexpected Marks of Favour; on the contrary, he retired again to his House at *Segovia*, and gave himself up entirely to the Functions of that Office, which had been confer'd upon him. Sometimes indeed, he went to Court, to pay his Compliments to the King and Queen, and to shew a profound Respect for those who had then the Direction of all things. But he asked for nothing, he seemed to have been never ambitious, or at least he appeared as if he had lost all his Ambition, if ever he had been infected with it. This Behaviour answered his purpose perfectly, it confirmed all that the Jesuits had said of him; and the Ministry no longer thought themselves concerned to oppose the Rise of so tractable a Person.

From the time of Cardinal *Alberoni's* Retreat, the Counsels of *Spain* grew apparently cooler, and the other Potentates of *Europe* had no longer those terrible Apprehensions of the Power of his Catholick Majesty, which had formerly filled their Minds. The Marquis *de Grimaldi*, and the rest of the Ministers, however, were very far from losing sight of that Point, which they knew was the great Object of their Majesties Concern, the securing the eventual Succession of *Parma* and *Tuscany*, or of neglecting to improve the Commerce of the Nation, on which the restoring it to a truly flourishing Condition did solely depend. But they prosecuted their Schemes after the old *Spanish* manner, that is, slowly

slowly and steadily. They watched favourable Occasions, and improved them; they forbore those high Pretensions, which *Alberoni* always kept on foot; they affected a very strict Correspondence with the *States-General*; and in fine, by giving good words to all, they made their Uses of all, without being suspected by any. The Differences between the *Imperial* and *Spanish* Courts still subsisted, and seemed as likely as ever to subsist. They had both acceded to the *Quadruple Alliance*, and yet neither seemed to be well satisfied therewith. Each of these Princes had plausible Pretences for the Dissatisfaction he expressed, and it had been the Business of his *Britannick* Majesty and the *States-General* to find out continual Expedients for the preventing these Uneasinesses from breaking out into an open Rupture. Nor had all the Changes which from the Peace of *Utrecht* had happened in these Courts, created any direct Correspondence between them. At last, the Congress at *Cambray* was established for the final Decision of their Differences, as well as many others, which had arisen in *Europe*; and amongst the rest, one relating to the *Ostend* Company, of which, before we proceed farther, it is necessary that we should take particular notice.

Soon after the Pacification induced by the *Quadruple Alliance*, (for considering the Differences subsisting between several Princes, it could not be called a general Peace) his Imperial Majesty began to entertain a strong Inclination to revive a Spirit of Commerce in some Part or other of his Dominions. With this view, he granted considerable Privileges to *Trieste* and *Fiume*, the only Ports he possessed on the *Adriatick*, and no pains were spared in building of Ships, cleansing the Ports, erecting Piers, and Ware-houses, with all other Necessaries, for establishing Trade on this side, tho' to very little purpose. But as the Pursuits of useless Projects very often bring Men to stumble on important Discoveries,

ries, which otherwise would never have been thought of; so this Inclination of the Imperial Court to favour Traffic, induced some Persons of great Distinction, to listen to a Project formed by the Sieur *Colebrook*, for establishing an *East-India* Company in the *Austrian Netherlands*; which, when proposed to the Court at *Vienna*, met there with a very favourable Reception. When this Scheme came to be carried into execution, it raised excessive Disturbances in *Europe*. The maritime Powers conceiv'd themselves to be highly injured by the erecting of this Company; and they thought the Injury the greater, because the House of *Austria* had been put in possession of the *Netherlands*, chiefly by the Assistance of the Maritime Powers. They farther insisted, that his Imperial Majesty possessed them in virtue of Treaties, which settled his Rights, and the Rights of his Subjects on the foot they stood in the Days of *Charles II.* of *Spain*, on which foot it was affirmed, the Inhabitants of the *Low Countries* had no Right to carry on a Trade to the *Indies*. On the other hand, the States of *Brabant* made very warm Representations to his Imperial Majesty in favour of this Commerce, which had such a weight with that Prince and his Council, that they resolved to support the Company, notwithstanding all the Opposition that it met with; alledging, that the Decrees of the Court of *Spain*, in favour of the *Castilians* at the Expence of the *Flemings*, ought not to prejudice the latter, now they were become the Subjects of another Crown. This Affair became however every day more and more serious. His Catholick Majesty taking part therein, and remonstrating as sharply against this new-erected Company, as either of the maritime Powers had done, in fine it was submitted to the Decision of the Congress before-mentioned; where, after all, the Ministers wrangled for three Years together, and concluded nothing, which occasioned infinite Heart-burnings

in more than one Nation. The less to be wonder'd at, if we consider that most of the States in *Europe* were at this time in an odd strain of Politics, so far removed from their respective Interests, that the wisest and oldest Politicians knew not what to think of Affairs; nor were some of the Plenipotentiaries less at a loss than other People. Time, which is said to discover all Things, like able Statesmen before-mentioned, hath been quite baffled, and Posterity is like to know as little of the matter as we.

All this time the *Spanish* Ministry prosecuted their Measures softly and securely, with more or less Success, according as the Circumstances of things, and the Views of other Potentates would allow. But by degrees, Cardinal *Alberoni*, who after some Persecution was in high Credit at *Rome*, began to resume the Direction of *Spanish* Affairs; and tho' for the saving Appearances he did not interfere openly, yet nothing is more certain, than that he first projected that unaccountable, and, as some call it, unnatural Alliance between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, which so much alarmed all *Europe*. It hath been much doubted, whether the true Motives, which induced their Imperial and Catholick Majesties to enter into so close a Correspondence, were ever discovered. For my part, I do not believe they ever were. To which, I am the rather led, by the received Opinion, that this Alliance was first devised by the Baron *de Ripperda*. This took rise, from his having rose, as we shall see hereafter, to the highest Degree of Favour, in consequence of his having concluded that Treaty. But after all, there is a great difference between negotiating and projecting an Alliance; and I think I can prove to a Demonstration, that the Project of that of *Vienna*, was not formed by him. He was, as we have seen before, intrusted with the Management of the Manufactures of *Spain*, Resi-

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dent generally at *Segovia*; and tho' he was certainly much in favour with their Catholick Majesties, yet he had but a very dependent Interest at Court. He was but growing into favour with the Ministers, with whom, the presuming to offer such a Project, however grateful to their own Inclinations, would certainly have ruined him. The truth is, as we shall hereafter see, no Man knew less of the new-formed Scheme than he, till he was fixed upon to execute it; how and where it was originally concerted is a Secret, of which we have some Knowledge, which we shall readily communicate to the Publick, together with the Evidence which induced us to give it credit. We pretend not to have forced into the Cabinets of Princes, or to have turned Corruption upon its Authors, to arrive at the Secrets of Ministers; we have used our utmost Diligence in coming at Intelligence, and we are content to deliver it without Ostentation.

Among the *Spaniards*, who followed the Fortunes of King *Charles III.* there was one Father *Alvaro Cienfuegos*, a Jesuit, born in the Principality of *Asturias*. He was a Man of Parts and Learning, as appeared from a great Work he composed on the Mystery of the Trinity; nor had he given himself so much up to the Study of Divinity, as to want other Accomplishments. He was a sound Politician, one who acted on true and solid Maxims, and not upon those chimerical Flights of Fancy, which are apt to lead Men of quick Imaginations astray. He always retained a deep Sense of the Duty he owed his Country as well as a warm and vigorous Loyalty towards the Prince, whose Party he had embraced. So many shining Qualities rendered him very considerable in the Imperial Court; and though it was not without some difficulty arising from the Book before-mention'd, yet a Cardinal's Cap was obtained for him; and in the Summer of 1722, he was charged with his *Imperial Ma-*

jesty's Affairs at the Court of *Rome*, at the same time that he had a very rich Bishoprick given him in *Sicily*. This sage Ecclesiastick, conceiving the Differences between the *Imperial* and *Spanish* Courts to be equally detrimental to both, conferred with Cardinal *Alberoni*, on the Means of removing them effectually. His Eminence, who had lost somewhat of that heat, which appeared in his Temper, while he had the Direction of the Affairs at the Court of *Madrid*, listened readily to these Proposals, and the Heads of a Treaty being concerted between these two great Politicians, they were transmitted to the *Spanish* Ministry, who were desired to find out a proper Person to negotiate this Affair at *Vienna*; one, who might be capable of acting up to the Spirit of the Plan proposed, and the Fruitfulness of whose Imagination might enable him, without recurring to *Madrid* for Instructions to obviate the many and great Difficulties, which would necessarily occur in the conducting such an Affair.

When this Scheme came to be deliberated in the *Spanish* Councils, the Design of it was highly approved; but when the Character of the Person, who was to negotiate it, came under Consideration, all who were present seemed to be at their Wit's end. They ran over presently the List of such Persons, as might with any colour of Justice pretend to this Employment, but little to their Satisfaction. One wanted Age, another Capacity, a third Experience, a fourth Prudence, a fifth the Talent of Secrecy. In short, every one that was named appeared deficient in something, till the King mention'd the Baron *de Ripperda*, of whom as no body had thought, so when he was thought of, no body offered any Exception. Some have suspected, and perhaps it might be so, that *Alberoni* mentioned him at the same time that he sent the Plan; but of this there is no Evidence. All we know is, that he had been at Court that very day

day before the Council was held, and was returned to his House at *Segovia*, whither a Messenger was dispatched to require his immediate Attendance at the Palace. The Reason of this mighty haste, was the Hopes that the *Spanish* Ministry conceived of making a very advantageous Treaty with his Imperial Majesty, provided they were expeditious, and did not leave too much time to the Maritime Powers, either to expose the Nature of their Designs, or to prepossess the Court of *Vienna* with Proposals of another sort.

The Baron *de Ripperda* so little expected any farther Favour from the Court, and was so far from having the least Intelligence of the Scheme on foot, that when the Messenger arrived at *Segovia*, and acquainted him with the peremptory Orders with which he was charged, the Baron was not a little surprized. Nay, it is said, his Confusion was so great, that he acquainted Madam *de Ripperda* with the Cause of it, which was a thing very rare with him. This served only to increase his Perplexity; for the Lady knowing his Intimacy with the disgraced Cardinal, immediately figured to herself some grievous Accusation, and carried her Conjectures so far, as to oblige the Baron to think of consoling her instead of recollecting himself. On the whole, Obedience however seemed the first and most rational Step; and therefore making himself as easy as he could, he set out instantly for *Madrid*, and repaired to Court the very moment he arrived. An Audience was presently granted him, at which the King and Queen receiv'd him with unusual Marks of Favour; and after some general Discourse, their Majesties were pleased to acquaint him, that they had cast their eyes on him to go Ambassador to his Imperial Majesty, in order to settle effectually those Difficulties which had so long embarrassed *Spain* and all *Europe*. They likewise informed him, that the Secretary of State

would acquaint him fully with the Scope of this Negotiation; and that tho' they knew well many Difficulties would attend it, yet they hoped all things from his Fidelity, Diligence, and great Abilities. The Baron on his side made the most humble Acknowledgments for this unexpected Favour; he observed, that it was the more so, because hitherto he had been able to do nothing which could reasonably entitle him to so great a Trust, that he would do his utmost to make a just, honourable, and solid Peace; and that in case all he could do, should fall short of his Intentions, he would however give such signal Proofs of his Zeal, as should fully justify their Catholick Majesties Choice of him. After he withdrew from this Audience, he had a long Conference with the Secretary, at the Close of which, he promised to make all imaginable Dispatch, as well in providing for his Journey, as in bringing things to an Issue, when he should arrive at *Vienna*.

As soon as the News became publick, that the Baron *de Ripperda* was chosen to go Ambassador to his Imperial Majesty, Men expressed themselves, as the Custom is at *Madrid*, freely and variously upon the matter. Some said, it was strange that the Ministry should not be able to find a *Spaniard* fit to be entrusted with so important an Affair. That even amongst the Strangers, who were already introduced into the *Spanish* Councils, there were several superiour in Rank to the Baron *de Ripperda*, who had been as yet never entrusted farther than to direct a feeble Manufacture, and to collect Workmen for it, who hitherto had not performed any thing extraordinary. Others however conceived great Hopes of the Negotiation, from the Choice made of the Ambassador. They knew the Capacity, and above all the insinuating Temper of *Ripperda*, his Love of Magnificence, and his Contempt of Money; Qualities which render'd him extremely

fit

fit to deal with the *Germans*. They therefore went without Reluctance to compliment him, to wish him a good Journey, and all imaginable Success in his Designs.

When his Instructions were once delivered to him, the Baron *de Ripperda* made no longer any Delay, his Baggage was already put in order, and in three days after he set out for *Vienna*, carrying with him his Son, who, tho' he was then a Child, was soon after a Minister. The Baron, who had been all his Life-long afflicted with the Gout, never felt it more severely than in this Journey, which retarded him very much, and consequently gave him a very sensible Uneasiness. At length however he arrived at *Vienna*, where he was received with all imaginable Marks of Deference and Respect, notwithstanding it was agreed the Baron should not make a publick Entry before the Duke *de Richelieu* set out for *Paris*, which was daily expected; because it was foreseen, that acting otherwise might give Offence to the *French Court*: However, this Precaution was useless, the Duke remaining still at *Vienna*, on purpose to watch the Motions of the Baron *de Ripperda*. All *Europe* was alarmed at this extraordinary and unexpected Step; yet many intelligent People were of opinion, that the Baron *de Ripperda's* Negotiation would be fruitless, since they could not comprehend how those Disputes, which had for many Years embarrassed all *Europe*, and were rather heightened than composed by the Congress at *Cambray*, should be terminated on a sudden, in a few Conferences at *Vienna*. But the more penetrating Politicians apprehended, that the most material Points had been regulated elsewhere, and that the King of *Spain* would never have consented to have sent a Minister to the Imperial Court, to waste time in fruitless Negotiations; and they were thoroughly confirmed in this when it came to be known, that the Em-

peror had named *Prince Eugene* of *Savoy*, *Count Sinzendorf*, and *Gundaccar Count Starbenberg* to confer with him.

There is no necessity for our entering into a minute Detail of all that past in the Negotiations between the *Baron de Ripperda* and the Emperor's Commissioners; it is sufficient to say, that to the Surprize of all the World, and in spite of all the Methods taken to prevent it, the Baron concluded and signed four Treaties, whereby all the Disputes which had so long subsisted between their Imperial and Catholick Majesties, were not only taken away entirely and for ever, but such a Harmony was also established between them, as alarmed some other Powers to the last degree, and produced the famous Treaty of *Hanover*, which has been productive of a multitude of Treaties, Conventions, Preliminaries, &c. and is every Year bringing forth more. But to keep for the present to the *Baron de Ripperda's* Treaties:

The first was a Treaty of Peace between their Imperial and Catholick Majesties; the Preamble of which recited the Cause and Consequences of the late general War in *Europe*, the Termination of it by the Treaties of *Utrecht*, *Baden* and *London*, the fruitless Conferences for three Years together at *Cambray*, and the full settling of those Points, which would never have been settled there, by the Imperial Commissioners and the *Baron de Ripperda*, contain'd in the following Articles.

1. There shall be between their Imperial and Catholick Majesties, their Heirs, Kingdoms, Subjects and Countries, a Christian Peace general and perpetual, each Party avoiding whatever may detriment the other, and promoting what in him lies what may be to the other's Advantage.

2. The Treaty of *London*, concluded the 21st of *July*, 1718, and the Conditions of Peace therein mentioned, shall serve for the Basis of the said Peace;

Peace ; in virtue of which Treaty, the said Catholick King did effectually restore to his Imperial Majesty the Island and Kingdom of *Sardinia*, and made a full Cession of all the Rights and Demands he might have on the said Kingdom ; so that his Imperial Majesty was left at liberty to dispose of it as he should think fit, for restoring the publick Tranquility.

3. As it hath been agreed, that the only Means which could be used for establishing a Balance of Power in *Europe*, was the providing against the uniting the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, under the same Head ; and as this Means hath been sanctified by a fundamental Law, confirm'd at *Madrid* the 9th of *Nov.* 1712, by the *Cortes*, and strengthened by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, concluded the 11th of *April* 1713 ; his Imperial Majesty, for the better accomplishing so just and salutary a Purpose, doth for himself, his Heirs and Successors, Male and Female, renounce and relinquish all Rights and Pretensions whatsoever, which they may have on any of the Kingdoms, States, or Countries belonging to the Monarchy of *Spain*, now in possession of his Catholick Majesty.

4. In virtue of the said Renunciation of his Imperial Majesty, and in consideration that the Duke of *Orleans* hath renounced for him and his Descendants, all Rights or Pretensions to the Crown of *Spain*, his said Imperial and Catholick Majesty doth acknowledge King *Philip V.* for the lawful King of *Spain* and the *Indies*, and promises to leave the said King and his Descendants, Male and Female, in the quiet Possession of all and every of the Kingdoms, Provinces, or States conceded to him by the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

5. His Catholick Majesty, in consideration of the two last Articles, renounces all his Rights or Pretensions to the Kingdoms and States formerly possessed by the *Spanish* Monarchs, which are now in the possession of his Imperial Majesty ; he likewise

wife renounces his Right to the Reversion of the Kingdom of *Sicily* reserved to him by Treaty.

6. His Imperial Majesty accords, as he hath formerly accorded, in favour of the most serene Queen of *Spain*, that in case the Duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* shall become vacant, the Emperor and the Empire shall grant to the eldest Son of the said Queen of *Spain* the Investiture of the said Duchies. In assurance of which, his Imperial Majesty will cause to be expedited to the said Prince, Letters Expectative, containing the eventual Possession, without prejudice however to the present Possessors. It is nevertheless agreed, that the City of *Leghorn* shall remain for ever a free Port. His Catholick Majesty promises and obliges himself, to restore to the Prince who shall, in consequence of the foregoing Article, enjoy these Duchies, the Fortrefs of *Porto Longone*, and the Part he at present possesses of the Island of *Elbe*, as soon as that Prince shall be in Possession of *Tuscany*. He also renounces for himself and Successors Kings of *Spain*, the Power of appropriating, acquiring, or possessing any Part of the said Duchies, of accepting them at any time, or of taking upon themselves the Tutelage or Guardianship of the Prince to whom they shall descend. Their Imperial and Catholick Majesties sincerely promise, not to introduce any Troops, either of their own, or of their Pay, into the said Duchies, during the Lives of their present Possessors; but in case either of the Duchies shall become vacant, it shall nevertheless be lawful for *Don Carlos* to take possession of it in consequence of the Letters of eventual Investiture.

7. His Catholick Majesty for himself, his Successors and Heirs, in the Kingdom of *Spain*, renounces for ever all Right of Reversion in the Kingdom of *Sicily*, reserved by the Act of Cession made by the King of *Sardinia*, in *June 1713*; and promises to put into the hands of his Imperial Majesty
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the Instruments of Reversion, at the same time with the Ratification of this Treaty; saving to his Catholick Majesty however his Right of Reversion to the Island and Kingdom of *Sardinia*, in consequence of the second Article of the Convention between the Emperor and the King of *Sardinia*.

8. The Emperor and the Catholick King mutually and reciprocally guarantee each other's Dominions and Possessions.

9. This Article contains a full and general Amnesty on all sides.

10. It is agreed, that his Imperial and Catholick Majesty *Charles VI. Roman Emperor*, and his Catholick Majesty *Philip V. King of Spain*, and the *Indies*, shall use during their Lives the Titles they at present bear; but their Heirs and Successors shall regulate their Titles according to their Possessions.

11. The Duke of *Parma* shall be maintained with full and free Enjoyment of all his Estates, Rights and Privileges; and in case any Differences shall arise between his Serene Highness and his Imperial Majesty, they shall be amicably determin'd.

12. His Imperial Majesty promises to defend and support, when, and as often as it shall be necessary, the Succession to the Crown of *Spain*, as the same is regulated by the Treaty of *Utrecht*. And his Catholick Majesty promises to guarantee and support the Order of Succession in his Imperial Majesty's Dominions, as it shall be settled by the Pragmatick Sanction.

13. As to the Debts of the most Serene Infants *Mary and Margaret, Roman Empreesses*, it is agreed, that the Towns, Burghs and Countries whereon the Funds were settled for the Discharge of what was due to them, shall be restored, or the total Value of the Debt shall be paid to his Imperial Majesty, as well from the Death of *Charles II. of Spain*, as from the Acceptation of the Treaty of *London*.

14. As

14. As to the Debts contracted by his Imperial Majesty in *Catalonia*, or which were contracted by his Servants on his account, his Imperial Majesty takes upon him to clear and satisfy them fully. In like manner, his Catholick Majesty takes upon him to satisfy the Debts contracted for him, or in his Name, in *Flanders, Milan, Naples, and Sicily*. In two Months, Commissioners shall be appointed on each side to liquidate the said Debts.

15. As there still subsist some Differences concerning the Restitution of the Palaces at *Rome* and at the *Hague*, it is agreed, that the Palace of the *Hague* shall be compensated by that at *Viena*; and that with respect to the Palace at *Rome*, his Catholick Majesty shall pay the Emperor one half of its Value.

16. There shall be comprehended in this Treaty such Parties as shall be named by common Consent.

The 17th and 18th Articles relate to the Ratification and other circumstantial Points in this Alliance.

As to the Treaty of Peace between the Emperor and Empire on the one part, and the King of *Spain* on the other, it consisted of six Articles, which it is not necessary to repeat, and was signed on one side by the Baron *de Ripperda*, on the other by Prince *Eugene of Savoy*, and the Counts *Sinzendorf, Starbenberg, Windisgratz, and Schonborn*.

The third, was a Treaty of Alliance between their Imperial and Catholick Majesties, and I conceive it is this which we generally mean in *England*, when we speak of the *Vienna Treaty*. It consisted of six Articles.

1. Their Imperial and Catholick Majesties shall have and maintain between each other, a solid and sincere Friendship. Each shall promote the other's Good, and as far as in him lies, secure him from Evil.

2. Inasmuch as it hath been represented by the Minister of the most Serene King of the *Spains*, that the Restitution of *Gibraltar*, with its Port, should be

be made by the King of *Great Britain*, and that it is insisted on by the King of *Spain*, that *Gibraltar*, with its Port, and the Island of *Minorca*, with its Port of *Mahon*, should be restored to his Catholick Majesty; it is declared on the part of his Imperial Majesty, that if this Restitution can be amicably obtained, he will not oppose it; and if it shall seem useful, he will interpose his good Offices, and if the Parties desire it, will enter into a Mediation for that end.

3. As a Mark of his sincere and cordial Friendship, *Philip V.* King of *Spain* agrees and promises, that the Ships of his Imperial Majesty, and of all his Subjects, shall have free Ingress into all the Ports on the Continent of *Spain*, and shall enjoy all the Privileges of the most favoured Nation, particularly all the Privileges enjoy'd by the *French* and *English* Nations.

4. In case the Ships of any of the Subjects of his Imperial Majesty shall suffer any Hostilities, on this or on the other Side of the Line, his Catholick Majesty promises to make it a common Cause, in order to procure Satisfaction and Reparation. His Imperial Majesty promises likewise, in the like case, to make it a common Cause also.

5. For the farther explaining the Guaranty, to which their Imperial and Catholick Majesties reciprocally oblige themselves, it is hereby declared, that in case any Part of his Imperial Majesty's hereditary Dominions should be attacked, his Catholick Majesty shall assist him with all his Forces, and shall particularly send him a Fleet of fifteen Men of War of the Line, and twenty thousand Men, *viz.* fifteen thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse, or shall pay in Ready-money, in the City of *Genoa*, twenty-four thousand Florins a Month, for every thousand Foot that shall not be so sent. And his Imperial Majesty promises to assist his Catholick Majesty in the like manner with all his Forces, particularly with
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thirty thousand Men, viz. twenty thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse.

6. This Article relates only to the Ratifications.

The fourth Treaty was a Treaty of Commerce, which being extremely long, it would too much fatigue the Reader, should we place it here. It is sufficient to observe, that the great View of the Imperial Court in this Treaty, was to secure themselves thereby a free and safe Entrance into the Ports of his Catholick Majesty, for the Ships of such of his Imperial Majesty's Subjects as should be sent to trade in the *East-Indies*, without which it was apprehended the *Ostend* Company could not have subsisted. All these Treaties, and especially the last, being entirely calculated for the Advantage of his Imperial Majesty and his Subjects, one cannot easily discover how the Baron *de Ripperda* came to acquiesce in them, much less can we account for the great Honours he received, in consequence of his having negotiated these Treaties. The very Sense of these Difficulties gave credit to a Report that was quickly spread, of there being certain secret Articles, so favourable to *Spain*, as to balance all the great things in the several Treaties stipulated in favour of his Imperial Majesty; but it must be also acknowledg'd, that if any such Articles there were, they have to this very hour remain'd a Secret, notwithstanding the whole System of Affairs with respect to the Intercourse between these Courts, hath been more than once changed since then.

One cannot wonder, after what has been related, at the high Favours confer'd on, and mighty Respect shewn to the Baron *de Ripperda*, by his Imperial Majesty and the whole Court. There could be nothing more honourable for the House of *Austria* than those Treaties were, the Imperial Ministers had all the reason in the world to be satisfied with a Person who had yielded to them all that they could desire; and as for the People of *Vionna* in general

general, there never was a Minister half so acceptable to them, as *M. de Ripperda*, because there never was a Minister half so generous, or magnificent. When it was known, that the Duke *de Richelieu* would not depart, the *Spanish* Minister resolved no longer to delay his publick Entry. He made it therefore on the 22d of *August*, 1725, with a Pomp, which struck even the Inhabitants of *Vienna* with Surprize, who are accustomed to see the grandest Sights in the world. In the midst of this Splendour, *M. de Ripperda* received the agreeable News of his Catholick Majesty's approving all his Transactions, and of his having confer'd on him the Title of Duke, which is always attended with that of Grandee of *Spain*.

Such high, and one may say, unexpected Honours, did, if we may credit the Enemies of *M. de Ripperda*, operate not a little upon his Understanding, and induced him in the heat of Conversation at a Feast, which he gave on the Birth of his second Son (for *Madam de Ripperda* was brought to bed while he was at *Vienna*) to let fall some Expressions of a very extraordinary nature. The Purport of his Discourse was, that it would be more agreeable to the general Interest of the several Potentates in *Europe*, to have the *Chevalier de St. George* restored, than to suffer things to remain in *Great Britain*, as they then stood. Such Insinuations, even at his own Table, are said to have created not a little Disturbance, and to have drawn upon him some very sharp Reproofs from the Ministers who were present. However, we are told, it had no farther Consequence than to procure him a gentle Reprimand from the Emperor at his next Audience, and a Caution to be more circumspect for the future in matters of such Importance.

If this Story had not been published elsewhere, I should never have given it a place here, it appearing at least to me very improbable, if not absurd.

furd. If there was any Foundation in fact for this Report, the Duke *de Ripperda* must have been strongly influenced by the Jesuits, or else he must have begun his Intrigues very early, and which is not very usual for Men to do, meditated a Retreat before he was arrived at the top of Preferment. However it was, I am firmly persuaded, that the Account given of this Conversation, induced the great Credit afforded to the Report of certain secret Articles, wherein the Emperor promised to assist *Spain* in recovering *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*, and in carrying another Project, which she was supposed to have at heart, into immediate Execution. If so, M. *de Ripperda* was certainly the Author of more Disturbances than he ever promised; and as a Minister, his Character with respect to this Point never can be defended. The Court of *Vienna* was then the most consider'd in *Europe*; all Politicians kept their Eyes on her Motions, and strange things were expected from the new Steps it was given out that she would certainly take. Amongst other strange Faces that were seen among her Ministers, there was one which occasioned no small Discourse. He was a *Scot* by Nation, known at *Vienna* by the Name of *Chevalier Graham*; some said he was a Minister, but all agreed that he was qualified for that Employment. He conversed with Persons of the first Distinction, and was judg'd to have Business with them, but whether of a publick or private Nature, I am sure I cannot determine. This I have heard, that his being so well received gave some Disgust.

When once the Duke *de Ripperda* had fairly brought about all the great things he was sent to do at *Vienna*, he grew very impatient in his Expectation of returning to *Madrid*. It is not material enough for us to examine, whether this was the Effect of his natural Disposition, or of a Habit contracted from long living in *Spain*, where to be banished, or to reside

reside out of *Madrid*, are held synonymous Terms. In this, as in other things, he was extremely fortunate; for the Catholick King, who inherited from his Grandfather a Desire of shewing his Gratitude towards all who endeavoured his Service, at the Request of the Duke *de Ripperda*, gave him leave to return home; and as an additional Mark of his Favour, allowed him to leave the Care of his Affairs to the Baron *de Ripperda* his Son, tho' he was then scarce nineteen Years of Age. It is hard to say, whether this young Gentleman derived any thing from the Fortune of his Father, since his Merit, had he been the Son of a Stranger, would well have intitled him to the high Honour he received. Young as he was, he had far less Vivacity than his Father, a Stock of Learning, seldom to be found in Gentlemen of his Age, join'd with a Modesty, which very rarely accompanies such a Stock of Learning. His Father furnished him at his Departure with ample Instructions in respect to his Conduct, but his own Behaviour towards all the publick Ministers, rendered those Instructions in a manner needless; every one being ready to assist the Baron with their Advice in all things, which he received with a Docility that effectually secured in his Interest whoever advised him. There was another thing that Duke *de Ripperda* had in view, and which is supposed was the principal Motive which induced him to procure this Honour for his Son, viz, a Marriage he had projected between this young Nobleman and the Countess *de Blaggay*, a Lady of an immense Fortune, whose Father had been Grand Chamberlain to the Emperor. The Pretence for leaving the Baron was the finishing certain Negotiations, but that this was barely a Pretence, appears from the Dates of the several Treaties, and their Ratifications, which are all prior to the Duke's Departure. It is true, that the Defensive Alliance and Treaty of Commerce

were kept secret for some time, and therefore it might pass well enough upon the World for the present, that the Baron *de Ripperda* was left to take care of these Matters; but as the truth of this Affair is now out of question, it would be by no means just to ascribe this Step to any other than its real Motives. When the Duke *de Ripperda* had his Audience of Leave, which was on the 20th of *October* 1726, his Imperial Majesty made him a Present, which was valued at fifteen hundred Pounds Sterling. The Courtiers and *Austrian* Nobility were extremely mortified at the loss of him, and so were the Publick Ministers, tho' they affected not to shew it, because the Duke *de Ripperda* performed the Honours of his House with greater Politeness, and kept up a stronger Flow of Spirit and good Humour in his Assemblies, than were to be seen elsewhere. For as he made them his sole Diversions, so he spared no Cost to render them as innocently entertaining as was possible. But if the People of Rank were touched with the News of his Departure, the Inhabitants of *Vienna* were in a manner inconsolable. He lived, as has been said, in a most expensive manner; and if in this he play'd the *Spaniard*, he shewed himself still a *Hollander* in the Punctuality of his Payments. Beneficent by Nature, charitable rather by Disposition than from Principle, and fond of distinguishing himself where parting with Money would do it, it is no wonder, that the Duke was the Darling of the Vulgar, to whom Magnificence is a Sun which swallows up the Lustre of all lesser Virtues.

In his Return to *Spain*, he received wherever he past excessive and unexpected Honours, of which the Republick of *Genoa* was in a particular manner profuse. They caused him to be met by a Cavalcade of Coaches at a distance from their City. One of their prime Nobility offered him the Use of his House, as long as he should think fit, and a Galley

was equipped and furnished at the publick Expence, in order to transport him and his Equipage to *Spain*. But the Duke did not chuse to make any stay, he supp'd in publick, that he might not seem to despise the Honours done him by that State, but he embark'd the next day on board the common Packet-Boat, that he might not appear singular by a vain Affectation of Honours. In fine, on the 11th of *December*, he arrived at *Madrid*, where he had been long expected, and where every body impatiently waited to see what Reception he would meet with from their Majesties.

They did not long languish in their Expectations; the very next day after his Arrival, *M. de Ripperda* was present at the King's Levée: he had scarce made his Compliments to his Majesty, before that Prince, turning to those who were present, said, *I should be much at a loss, if I went about to express the Sense I have of Ripperda's Services; and I the rather decline it, because I know that even the Praises which are justly due to his Conduct, would bear hard upon his Modesty.* Then turning to him, he said, *In recalling you from Vienna, I sought an Opportunity of doing justice in some measure to your Virtue, by giving you more distinguishing Marks than I have yet done of my Confidence. The Office of Superintendant-General of Commerce is become vacant, by the Death of Don Antonio Emanuel Azavedo, I give it you, and leave also to your Care the Affairs of Great Britain and the Low-Countries.* The Duke made the most humble Acknowledgements for these unmerited Favours, as he thought fit to call them, and his Majesty to heighten them still more, conducted him himself to his Audience of the Queen.

Her Majesty no sooner saw him entering her Apartment, than she called out to him, *You have done well, M. de Ripperda, you have made a good step for a — I conceive, Madam,* said he, *what you would say, and will endeavour to express it. I have*

done my utmost Endeavours to shew I am not wholly undeserving of those Acts of Bounty and Beneficence, which your Majesties have been pleased to exercise on a hapless Stranger, who had no other Merit than that of discerning the Happiness, which is inseparable from being your Majesties Subject, who for this abandoned his Country, and who can never repent of having taken that step, which in any other Country he must have repented as soon as he had made. I dare promise your Majesties nothing in return for all the great things I have received but this; that my Zeal and my Fidelity shall not fall short of your Goodness, whatever my Abilities, whatever my Fortune may do. I am extremely sensible, that I am the Creature of your Favour, and it shall be the Business of my Life, to express the Sincerity of my Gratitude. This gracious Reception was more than sufficient to establish the Duke with the Grandees of the Court; he was attended to his Apartments by a Croud of his Friends, amongst whom were many who were sincerely such; but the far greater part were the proper Attendants of a Favourite's Fortune; People, who on a sudden saw mighty Perfections in a Man, in whom they formerly saw nothing extraordinary, and who made use of the same hyperbolic Expressions in their Compliments and Panegyrics, which they would have used in Satires and Lampoons, if with all his Industry and Fidelity he had been so unlucky as to have incurr'd their Majesties Displeasure. As for the Duke himself, he was as yet courteous and complaisant to all, so far as the present Situation of his Mind permitted; for he was so strongly agitated with the Thoughts of what he had received, and what he might expect, that it was with some difficulty he bore a part in ordinary Conversations.

The new-raised Minister, far from being satisfied with the Honours he had attained, began to fix his Eyes on nothing less than succeeding the Cardinals

Alberoni

Alberoni and *del Giudice*; and we shall see, that when he had even reached this Point, his Ambition was not sated. That a Stranger, a Man without Alliances, whose Friends were few in number, and in no great Credit, and who was himself but very lately become conspicuous in the *Spanish* Court, should conceive so vast a Design, is not a grain less wonderful than that he succeeded in it. But what makes it still more surprizing is, that from the moment he projected it, he laid aside most of those good Qualities, which had given those who loved him an Opportunity of raising his Character, and prevented his Enemies from finding any thing essentially bad, which they could fix upon him. By this I mean, that he laid aside his Condescension, his Complacency, his easiness of Access, his pretended Zeal for Religion, and that Moderation of Sentiments, for which he had been always esteemed. Instead of these, he put on, or rather he discovered, all his Ministerial Abilities. If he was silent, he wore such an Air of Solemnity and Recollection, as deterred others from speaking; if he spoke, it was in Laconick Sentences, that had more Affinity with the Responses of Oracles, than the Turn of modern Conversation. His Friends were no longer welcomed in Words, a Shrug was esteemed a Kindness, and a Smile a Mark of Favour, so much the more valued in that it was very rarely bestowed. To the Ministers of State, he delivered his Opinion as a Rule not to be receded from. In Council he dictated: And in their Majesties Closet he read Lectures. To publick Ministers, he was still specious and polite, tho' no longer easy, or sincere. To the Jesuits alone, he remained what he was, as solely to their Intrigues he owed that high Reputation in which he stood with the King and Queen of *Spain*.

The Duchess *de Ripperda* suffered as quick and as strange an Alteration as her Husband. The La-

dies of Quality, who were continually present in her Antichamber, the Court paid her now by those she formerly thought it an Honour to pay her Court to, and the Airs of State her Husband put on, turned her Head and troubled her Imagination. She no longer exclaimed at her Husband's Reservedness, his continual Application to Business, or of those long and fatiguing Journeys, which she formerly reflected upon with horror. Grandeur made amends for all things, and Quiet was thought well exchanged for the swelling Title of *Duchess*. Her Humility, Chearfulness, unaffected Piety, extensive Charity, and Contempt of the Vanities of the World, were now forgotten. *Madam de Ripperda* was lost in the Wife of the Minister of State; insomuch that those, who paid their Respects to the latter, could not discern in her the smallest Likeness of the former: on which the *Spanish* Wits were pleased to say, that the *Baroness de Ripperda* quitted *Madrid* a little before his Excellency the Duke *de Ripperda* arrived there from *Vienna*. Some *English* Reader will perhaps fancy, that People speak not so freely in *Spain*; but let him banish such Fancies, the *Spaniards* are wise and brave, and a wise and brave People will speak. It is the Friends and Favourites of Ministers that are Slaves; those who dare be independent, will never be tongue-tied. No! not if they are terrified by Punishments. No! to a wise and brave Man, the not daring to speak his Sentiments, is more excruciating than *Nero's* Torments. This has always been the case from *Sejanus* down to *Ripperda*. Where it is not the case, the People dwindle into irrational Animals, of whom even their Tyrants can make little or no use. But it is time to return from the Sauciness of Subjects, to the Affairs of their Sovereigns; to dwell longer on such a Subject, would become a *French* Memoir-writer. That he has dwelt so long upon it, is scarce excusable in a *Briton*. But as it is our

Foible

Foible to stare at Monsters, I hope the Reader will stare as well as I.

By the present Situation of Affairs in *Spain*, many of the *European* Powers were not a little offended. *France* saw with the utmost Indignation his Catholick Majesty so strictly attached to the Interest of the House of *Austria*, and by a new Strain of Policy, affected to apprehend excessive Dangers from some Marriage between this Branch of the House of *Bourbon*, and one of the Arch-Duchesses. The States-General, tho' they were far from taking umbrage at the Reconciliation of the two Courts, yet were they not a little alarmed when they came to learn the Contents of the Treaty of Commerce; a Treaty, which deprived them of all hopes of seeing the *Ostend* Company suppressed, and which baulked their Expectations of engrossing to themselves the lucrative Commerce in *India* Goods, which is carried on throughout *Germany* and the *North*. As for *Great Britain*, she was made to believe that the chief End of the *Vienna* Alliance was to humble her Power and injure her Trade; she therefore declared herself in very warm Terms on this Head, notwithstanding that there were some Politicians in that Country, who thought the *Vienna* Treaty so far from being prejudicial to her Interests, that it might have been improved highly to her Advantage, by dividing effectually *Spain* from *France*, and by gratifying her present Views by securing effectually the Trade of the *West-Indies*. However this might be, the Ministry there took another Course; and by negotiating of a Counter-Treaty at *Hanover*, not only alarmed the Court of *Spain* for the present, but instilled into it, and into its Subjects such Jealousies and such an inveterate Prejudice, as hath not appeared easy to root out. The Enemies of the Duke de Ripperda, for Enemies he had almost without number, as soon as they knew this Treaty was on the Tapis, began to con-

ceive great hopes of tumbling him from his new-acquir'd Dignities, but in this they were exceedingly mistaken. Fortune piques herself on supporting her Favourites, while they are rudely pushed, that their Fall, like their Rise, may appear to be the Work only of her own hand.

The Memorials presented by the *Dutch* Minister suggested, that the Privileges granted to the Subjects of his Imperial Majesty were contrary to the Treaties subsisting between his Catholick Majesty and the States, gave the first Occasion of sounding the King's Inclination, as to parting with his Minister, but it plainly appeared he designed nothing less; for instead of shewing the Duke *de Ripperda* less Countenance than before, he followed exactly the Advice he gave him on the Subject, which was to put off their High Mightinesses as long as possible with evasive Answers, and to make use of the time gained thereby, to ingage the Emperor in such quick Measures, as might convince the Confederates, that he was resolved to support the *Vienna* Alliance to the utmost Extent of his Power. This the Duke *de Ripperda* really believed his Imperial Majesty would do. For knowing, as he did, that all these Measures were taken solely at the request, and to serve the Purposes, of that Court, he could not apprehend, that they could do less than support their own Interests, and go as far as the King of *Spain* did, in defending the Glory, Interest, and high Pretensions of the House of *Austria*.

The *Spanish* Ministers, who were in contrary Sentiments, did all in their power to shew the King, that the *Hanover* Alliance would prove too heavy in the end, and oblige his Majesty once more to depart from the mighty Projects he had formed. But his Catholick Majesty, who is very far from being fickle, did not give so readily into this Opinion, as had been expected; on the contrary, he determined to make himself entirely easy
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by throwing the whole Weight of publick Affairs on the Duke *de Ripperda*, which he did by conferring on him five or six of the most conspicuous Employments in the Kingdom; and he did it, that there might be no Contradiction or Confusion in the publishing or executing the necessary Orders. Thus the Struggles of his Enemies did more for the Duke *de Ripperda*, than suited with the Wishes of his Friends. They began too early to attempt the destroying him in the King's Opinion, their Projects turned upon themselves; and instead of effecting his Ruin, they compleated their own. The Marquis *de Grimaldi* executed at that time the Office of Secretary of State; but either really falling sick, or else feigning himself to be so, the King, without asking any body's Advice, added this Office to those already possessed by the Duke *de Ripperda*; to which shortly after the Employment of Secretary at War, which had been formerly separated from thence, and given to the Marquis *de Castellar*, was rejoined. On the Promotion of Don *Antonio Sopena* to the Office of Secretary of the *Indies*, another large Branch of Business, with which he had been charged, fell likewise to the share of the Duke. He was over and above cloathed with a new and very extraordinary Authority; for the King published an Edict, wherein, after taking notice that *Spain* could no more be exempt from some Malversations of Men in power than another Country, he therefore permitted a Revision of all Sentences, and a Review of all Transactions by Governours, Judges, Collectors, and every other kind of Royal Officers by the Duke *de Ripperda*, to whom any Subject might appeal, in case he thought himself aggrieved by any other Subject how great soever. Such an Accumulation of various and important Cares, if it required much of the Duke's Time and Attention, it gave him no less Weight and Credit, not only in Council, but every where else, it made him terrible
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in the Provinces, formidable to the Grandees; and in fine, such a Minister, as had never been seen before, a kind of Vicar-General, whose Power fell very little short of Sovereignty. A wonderful Change this, from living like a Country Gentleman at *Segovia* without Riches, Interest or Expectations.

We have hitherto dealt very little in Panegyric, it is now high time to say something in favour of him of whom we write, especially since we can say it without prejudice to Truth. He disappointed his Enemies by his Conduct in such extraordinary Circumstances, and if he had never abandon'd himself to his Passions, if he had never thought of imitating *Albèroni*, in opposing the last Resources of a ruined Kingdom to the united Force of the greatest Potentates, he might have lived with Honour, and died with Glory. For such was his prodigious Capacity, such his excessive Application, that in the midst of all his Offices, he was never found either negligent or confused. He sacrificed all things to Business, and tho' he could not preserve himself from Fits of the Gout, yet he so far triumphed over Pain, as to transact Business even in his worst Fits; because, as he said, it was by no means reasonable that one Man's Infirmities should affect a whole Nation. Yet with all these good Properties, he was haughty, opinionative, full of his own Merit, had a despicable Opinion of the People to whom he owed all his Grandeur; and by degrees, it is said, lost somewhat of that deep Gratitude and profound Respect, which was due to his kind Patroness the Queen. What wonder, if standing as he did on a Pinnacle, his Head sometimes turned round? Or what greater wonder than that, it did not always do so, considering the excessive Height to which he was raised, and that Rapidity with which he had risen?

In the midst of all these perplexed Affairs, the Duke never abandon'd his darling Design of perfecting

fecting the *Spanish* Manufactures; he was so far from thinking the Superintendency of them below him, now he was become both prime and sole Minister, that he applied all his Power, all his Interest, and all his Credit, for their Benefit and Advantage. By this means he really effected what the best *Spaniards* always wished, and the wisest despaired to see, and he produced to their Catholick Majesties many Pieces of the lighter sort of Woollen Goods, of the Manufacture of *Segovia*, to the full as good as any they received from abroad. On the producing of these Goods, he obtained new Favours, and larger Privileges for the Manufactures; who, when they saw themselves so much considered by their Majesties, and made as it were part of the Prime Minister's Family, they exerted their Abilities to the utmost, and in return for the high Favours they had received, became the principal Glory of the Duke de Ripperda's Administration. On their account he boasted, that he had opened in *Spain* a Mine above ground, which might vie in time with those of *Mexico* and *Peru*; which, while it filled the Kingdom with Money, would also keep its Inhabitants employed, attract Foreigners, and hinder the Exportation of Specie. These were Notions only worthy of M. de Ripperda, subsequent Ministers have not considered Manufactures in the same light, doubtless through their want of knowing them as well as M. de Ripperda did; otherwise the Manufacture at *Segovia* might have become as formidable to *Great Britain*, as the *Ostend* Company was to the *Dutch*. One evident Advantage we have gained in *England* by this change of Notions, is our having no more Weavers, Spinners, Clothiers, &c. debauched, which under his Ministry was common. All the Agents in these Intrigues are our own Countrymen, People of slender Character and broken Fortunes, who for the sake of gratifying their Passions engage in any Service,
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and are ready to undertake any Mischief, how wide or dangerous soever its Consequences may be.

The Enemies of the new Minister never quitted their grand Battery of the *Hanover* Alliance, which they looked upon as a thing that would one day or other effectually demolish the ambitious Duke. That Great Man, however, as he had a prodigious Fluency of speaking, as well as an extraordinary Capacity of inventing Expedients on all occasions, persuaded their Majesties and some of the Nobility, who had most Credit with them, that his Scheme steadily adhered to, would free the Crown of *Spain* from the Difficulties she laboured under; and thus he pretended to make it out. He observed, that by the Treaty of *Vienna*, he had effectually taken away the Root of domestick Jealousies and Heart-burnings. For tho' it was true, that by the Treaties of *Utrecht* and *Baden*, and especially by the Quadruple Alliance, his Catholick Majesty *Philip V.* was quieted in the Possession of his Kingdoms, and his Title acknowledged even by his Competitor; yet there never had been any direct Correspondence between the Courts of *Madrid* and *Vienna*, any Intercourse of Civility between their Ministers, or any Cessation of the secret Intrigues of both Courts, with the discontented Subjects of each other. Whereas now the Interests of the Emperor and the Catholick King were effectually united, which would shortly produce so many and so happy Effects, as would astonish all the minor Politicians. He took notice of the Method in which Affairs had been formerly carried on, wherein *Great Britain* and *Holland* were in fact the close Allies of the House of *Austria*, at the same time that under colour of being indifferent, they took upon them the Quality of Mediators; whence he inferred, that his Catholick Majesty would always have suffered in his Honour and Interests, and yet never have acquired the Confidence of the Court of *Vienna*. As to *France*, he

he remarked, that the Duke of *Bourbon* followed closely the Steps of the Regent, in attaching himself to the Court of *Great Britain*, and shewing a great Suspicion of his Catholick Majesty's Intentions. The main Design therefore of his Politicks, was to change the whole System of Affairs in *Europe*, and by making *Spain* subservient to the Emperor in the Affair of Trade, to make the Emperor on the other hand subservient to *Spain*, in regard to certain favourite Schemes, which he persuaded their Catholick Majesties, he should sooner or later find a way to execute.

As to the Treaty of *Hanover*, which had been concluded in the Month of *September*, 1725, and which ought rather to be called the Treaty of *Herrenhausen*; the Duke de *Ripperda* affected to speak of it in a very haughty manner. He did not fail to insinuate, that he would make the Contracting Parties themselves repent it, and perhaps disavow it. We shall hereafter see on what Principles he went. But as to the States-General, he endeavoured to divert them from acceding to the Treaty, both by fair means and by foul. Sometimes he flattered their Minister at *Madrid* with fair Promises, expressed a deep Concern for the Honour and Interest of their High Mightinesses Subjects, and insinuated that if they acted with Moderation, his Catholick Majesty might be induced to take some remarkable Steps in their favour. In the mean while, the Imperial Minister at the *Hague*, Count *Konigsegg Erps* presented Memorial after Memorial in *Latin*, drawn up in a high and dark Stile; 'till such time as perceiving that the States were not so much influenced by them as he expected, he presented a very clear and brisk Memorial in *French*, which was afterwards made publick: yet all this had no manner of effect; on the contrary, the States-General went on in taking the preparatory Steps to an Accession, which

which the Imperial Court had taken so much pains to prevent.

As to the *Spanish* Secretary at the *Hague* M. de *Oliver*, he did great Honour to the Ministry of the Duke de *Ripperda*. For he presented from time to time such soft and pacifick Memorials, as were most likely to keep their High Mightinesses from taking any hasty or definitive Step, till such time as the Season was proper for delivering the King of *Spain's* famous Letter, dated from *Madrid* the 23d of *January* 1736. This Letter began with high Compliments to the States, and then proposed his Catholick Majesty's Mediation for terminating the Difficulties which had arisen in the Negotiation between their High Mightinesses and his Imperial Majesty, on the head of Trade in general, and of the *Ostend* Company in particular. It likewise contained an explicit Declaration from his Catholick Majesty, that he was determined punctually to fulfil his Engagements to the Emperor, and to resent the smallest Injury offered to any of his Imperial Majesty's Subjects, as if it was done to himself. This corresponded exactly with Count *Konigsegg's* Memorial, and seemed to menace the States with a War, in case they acceded to the Treaty of *Hanover*. The true Design of it however was, to get the Negotiation transfer'd to *Madrid*, the Court of *Vienna* having sent Count *Konigsegg*, Uncle to Count *Konigsegg Erps*, thither with full Powers, in order to treat with Mr. *Vandermeer*, the Dutch Minister at *Madrid*. To colour this the better, the Duke de *Ripperda*, in a Letter to the Dutch Minister, assigns these Reasons: First, That it was the Pleasure of his Imperial Majesty. Secondly, That the Necessity of the thing required it. The Marquis de *St. Philippe*, whom his Catholick Majesty had named his Minister at the *Hague*, being so greatly indisposed, that it was impossible for him to arrive there time enough, especially considering the

the Impatience with which his Majesty expected the final Determination of these Differences. Thirdly, That tho' his Catholick Majesty had the greatest Respect for, and all the reason in the world to confide in *M. de Oliver*, yet as he was Secretary only at the *Hague*, he could not send him the full Powers; so that the Negotiation could not any longer be carried on there.

It cannot be denied, that in all these Steps the Duke *de Ripperda* acted like a great and able Minister, and that particularly in this last Expedient he shewed himself a deep Politician. But still the Stroke, which was to inforce all this, was to come from the Court of *Vienna*, on the Firmness of which the Duke *de Ripperda* reckoned, and therefore had spoken his Sentiments very freely on the Treaty of *Herenhausen*. In order to give the Reader a distinct Idea of the Duke's great Reach in Politicks, I shall insert the famous Reflections on that Treaty, which were written from Hints given by this adroit Minister.

Reflections on the Treaty concluded at Hanover the third of September 1725, between the Kings of France, Great Britain, and Prussia.

1. **T**HIS Treaty is made and concluded in the heart of the Empire, by two Electors and Princes of the Empire, with a foreign Power, contrary to the Peace concluded between his Imperial Majesty and the Empire with the Crown of *Spain*.

2. It is contrary in *Formalibus* & *Materialibus* to the solemn Oath of Investiture, and to the Duty of a Member of the Empire.

3. It is likewise contrary to the Peace of *Westphalia*, Art. 8. Sect. 2. and to the Tenour of the tenth Article of Capitulation made with the Emperor *Joseph*, and to the sixth of that made with the present Emperor at the time of his Election. And for

for the same reason, it is contrary to the Section *Gaudeant*, &c. and particularly in that,

4. In the second Article of this Treaty, the Contracting Parties mutually engage to guaranty to each other all in general the Countries, Towns, &c. of which they stand possessed, together with all their Rights, Privileges and Advantages. By which all the Power and Authority conferr'd on his Imperial Majesty, in virtue of his Capitulation at his Election, and conformable to the Laws of the Empire, is no longer at all considered by the Contracting Parties. So that all such as have been injured and unjustly treated by the said Kings of *Britain* and *Prussia*, as Electors and Princes of the Empire, or are at present engaged in Suits against them, are debarr'd all hopes of *Justice*; and consequently with respect to these two Members of the Empire, all Right and Justice in the Empire is destroyed, and they are at liberty to proceed at Will and Pleasure against every one, and even against his Imperial Majesty. With this view it is stipulated,

5. By the third Article in the Treaty, what Succours in Men and in Money each Ally shall furnish the other, in case of his being disturbed in the actual Possession of his Countries or Rights, without specifying whether they are justly or unjustly possessed of them.

6. This Article breaks that Connection, which, according to the Laws of the Empire, ought to subsist between his Imperial Majesty, as the supreme Chief of the Empire, and the Members of which it is composed, as well as that which ought also to remain among the Members of the Empire one with another. And as it is said above, this third Article is contrary to the solemn Oaths of the Kings of *Britain* and *Prussia*, which, as Electors and Princes of the Empire, they have publickly and solemnly taken, at the time of their Investiture, to his Imperial Majesty, and the holy *Roman* Empire,
in

in the presence of Almighty God, who knows all things.

7. It is further specified in the second separate Article, that in case the Empire should be so far irritated by this Treaty, and the Matters therein contained, as to declare War against the Crown of *France*, that then, neither *Brandenbourg* nor *Brunswick* shall furnish for the carrying on such a War, those Contingents, which, by the Laws of the Empire, they are bound to furnish, but shall on the contrary act jointly and forcibly with the Crown of *France*, 'till Peace is re-established. This entirely destroys the Constitution of the Empire, and takes away utterly that Obedience and Dependence, which every Member owes to his Imperial Majesty and the Empire.

8. This is not only an actual Separation from the whole Empire, but it is also an express Union with those, who, in such a case, are the declared Enemies of the Empire; and these two things are manifest Contraventions of the Peace of *Germany*, and of the fundamental Laws of the Empire, which they have sworn to observe, and which subjects the Offenders to certain Penalties mentioned in the said Laws.

9. We find in the third secret Article the following Words: "That in case the Empire should take such a Resolution as is mentioned in the said Article, to the prejudice of the Kings of *Great Britain* and *Prussia*, the Crown of *France* shall openly take their part, 'till such time as the Trouble, Injustice, and Prosecution shall entirely cease." By this means all Recourse of the United States of the Empire to his Imperial Majesty, and the supreme Judicature of the Empire, is entirely barr'd, with respect to the Contracting Powers; and consequently all Right, Assistance and Protection, as well as all Jurisdiction and Power are abolished. The Peace of *Germany*

is also broke, and foreign Troops, it is stipulated, shall enter the Kingdom; which is what the Emperor himself cannot permit, in consequence of his Capitulation.

10. From hence it is plain and evident, that here is openly concluded an Alliance, offensive and defensive, against his Imperial *Roman* Majesty, which cannot but cause great Troubles in the Empire, and endanger a total Suppression of Justice, in respect to the States of the Empire, their Countries and Inhabitants. There remains therefore nothing else, than that all true *Germans* should with his Imperial Majesty, instead of acceding to, oppose this Treaty with their utmost Force, and concur in taking all possible Measures for preserving the Tranquility of the Empire, the Balance of Power in *Europe*, and the common Peace of Christendom.

This was very soon after followed by a larger Piece, under the Title of an Analysis of the Treaty of *Hanover*, written by the famous M. *Du Mont*, now called Baron of *Carelsroon*, Historiographer to his Imperial Majesty. It was a very laboured, as well as very learned Piece, but it was immediately reply'd to, and neither of these Representations had any such Effects on the Minds of Men, as the Partizans of the Court of *Spain* expected from them. The great End of the Duke *de Ripperda*, in giving all the helps he could to those who had the care of working up these Materials into regular Discourses, was to draw a Parallel between the Electors, who were Contracting Powers in the Treaty of *Herenhausen*, and the Elector of *Bavaria*, who had been put under the Ban of the Empire, for concluding such an Alliance with *France* as this of *Hanover* was represented to be. Had his Design succeeded in this, and had he likewise effected what he had conceived in his mind, with respect to the Powers in the North, undoubtedly he would have given

given the Allies of *Hanover* a great deal of Trouble. But it so fell out, that neither his Threatnings on the one hand intimidated, nor his Promises on the other wrought any Change on the Intentions of the States-General. The States of *Holland* had already acceded to the Treaty, and the rest shewed their Inclinations to follow their Example so visibly, that tho' it was impossible to find any fault in the Duke *de Ripperda's* Proceedings, yet it was as impossible to doubt of their being unsuccessful, notwithstanding all his Arts and all his Care, and notwithstanding he was perfectly well seconded by the Ministers he employed.

The Quickness of the Minister's Genius hindred him from remaining at all in the dark. He saw clearly enough, that he should not be able to keep his Post, if the Emperor did not act up to the Plan he had laid down; and as he had no Security for his doing this, but a vain Conceit that it was for his Interest, he soon saw his Folly in building so much on his own Opinion, and fell thereupon into an incurable Malady, attended with some Fits of Passion, which bordered very nearly on Distraction. He continued however, which is scarce credible, to discharge with his usual Punctuality the Duties of his several Charges. He summoned the greatest and most powerful of the Nobility before his Tribunal, on the slightest Complaints, and did such strict and impartial Justice, that tho' it raised him many Enemies, yet it kept the People in his Interest; who saw, with equal Amazement and Satisfaction, a Stranger possessed of the Courage, as well as Power, to protect them against their own Nobles, who had oppressed them time out of mind. On such Occasions, as well as in Council, the Duke was wont to deliver himself very copiously, not only on the State of Affairs, but also on the Errors of the *Spanish* Government; and the great reason there was to expect all Degrees of People, and especially

cially the Nobles, should contribute to their utmost for the taking of them away. His Speeches were so nervous, so sagacious, and had such an evident Tendency to the Publick Good, that tho' they led to Undertakings impracticable in their nature, yet were they not easily to be refuted, nor was there any body to be found who was willing to take that Task upon him, which was so visibly invidious, and which would naturally have been liable to great Misconstruction.

In respect to his Office of Director-General of the Manufactures, he in the Spring of 1726, gave such a Proof of his Abilities and Industry, as sufficiently shewed what mighty things he could have performed, had not the national Weaknesses of *Spain* and his personal Enemies hindered him. He cloathed from the Looms of *Segovia* the *Spanish* Infantry in *Spanish* cloth, to the Amazement of Foreigners, as well as of the *Spanish* Nation. Some, who have pretended to criticize on his Conduct, will have it, that he acted imprudently in making this Display of his Success; because, say they, it could not fail of irritating the *English*, who, by this Specimen, were convinced, that the Duke *de Ripperda's* Projects were not chimerical, but that it was both in his Intention and in his Power to revive the drooping Spirit of Trade in *Spain*, and to establish there those solid Funds of Wealth and Commerce, which had rendered other Nations powerful. But with submission to wiser Heads, these were but very poor and shallow Objections. The *Spaniards* had long ago seen how little Inclination the *English* had to shew them any favour; and as to the Alliance at *Herenhausen*, they were better informed, than to fancy the Growth of their Manufactures had any Influence therein. On the contrary, they saw clearly, that the System of Politics, which then reigned in certain Courts, made such sort of Counter-Alliances necessary, whatever

Pretences might be made use of to blind the eye^s of the Many, and to give the Air of publick Utility to Matters of private Concern. Besides, the *Duke de Ripperda's* Reputation lay at stake. Those who were jealous of his rising Abilities, had ridiculed the Manufactures at *Segovia* as Labours, which would consume the Money of *Spain*, without producing any Advantage; he was therefore obliged to take the first Opportunity of demonstrating the Falsity of this Notion, as it stood him likewise in great stead to keep up the Spirits of the Manufacturers, and by so popular an Act to revive the *Spanish* Courage, and as it were to rouse the sleepy Genius of that indolent People.

However it was, the Cares of the Duke were for the present attended with general Approbation; and his Catholick Majesty, to shew his entire Confidence in him, added somewhat to his Dignities. The number however of his Enemies were not lessened, and tho' Malice and Envy might be silent, yet were they far from being asleep. On the other hand, no body knew this better than the Duke; no body felt it more; no body could disguise it less. Perhaps this was his greatest Weakness, tho' attributed to his Magnanimity and Contempt of Danger. Among other Instances of his Freedom of Speech, it may not be amiss to mention one. The Marquis *Grimaldi*, who had now no Office, was one day in the Duke's Apartment, when he was in a melancholy Humour. The Marquis easily perceived it, and could not help gratifying his Ill-will towards him, so far as to speak to him thus: "You seem
" to be much out of order, my Lord Duke, per-
" haps you feel some Approaches of the Gout."
" Perhaps, return'd the Duke fiercely, I do, per-
" haps I do not; whichever way it is, what is it
" to you? Mind your own Concerns, try if you
" can settle that crack'd Brain of yours, and when
" you have done that, teach a little Common Sense

“ to your Countrymen, I shall not then be afraid of
“ Gouts, or of Enemies; but their Follies are, I
“ confess, great and dangerous enough to make a
“ wise Man afraid.” The Marquis was thunder-
struck, and not caring to converse with a Man in
a Passion, very prudently withdrew into the next
Room, carrying the Duke’s Caution deeply engra-
ven in his Mind. It was not to him alone, that
the Duke expressed himself with so little Reserve.
He did not disguise his Sentiments even at his Ta-
ble, where he often spoke in such Terms of the
King of *Great Britain*, and of the *British* Nation,
as it would be by no means prudent for me to re-
peat. The reason of this was, because he always
look’d upon *Britain* to be the most dangerous Enemy
to *Spain*, and at the same time an Enemy without
a Cause. He thought that so large a share of the
Spanish Treasures as went yearly into *Britain*, de-
serv’d some Condescension, and he could never be
persuaded, that the Treaty of *Hanover* was con-
cluded with a proper Regard to the Interests of *Spain*.
He would often say, that the Treaty of *Vienna* was
really for the Benefit of *Great Britain*, that it ab-
solutely divorced *Spain* from *France*, and introduced
a Coldness towards *Holland*; so that the Bulk of her
Commerce must of consequence have fallen into
the hands of the *English*, with whom it was their
Interest to be well.——Such were the Dreams
of *Ripperda*, which prompted him to those Ex-
cesses, that cost him afterwards so dear. For the
British Minister, as it was his Duty, transmitted just
Accounts to his Court of all the Duke did and said;
which increased the Differences between the Na-
tions; and issued at last in actual Hostilities.

The Duke *de Ripperda*, notwithstanding the Dis-
putes between the Courts of *Spain* and *Great Britain*,
kept up a strict Intimacy and a great Appearance
of sincere Friendship with the Minister before-men-
tioned; infomuch, that we are told, his Enemies
spoke

spoke of his Conversations with that Gentleman, as of things derogatory to that Fidelity the Duke owed his Catholick Majesty, and that Gratitude which it became him to preserve towards so good and kind a Master. To obviate these Objections, the Duke behaved, during the latter part of his Ministry, more coldly towards his Friend in publick, yet without lessening any thing of that Esteem which he had always professed towards him. This induced him to speak freely to that Gentleman on the head of *Gibraltar*; the Possession of which, he knew the whole *Spanish* Nation so ardently wished for, that nothing could prevent their attempting to regain it by Force, in case it could not be obtained by Treaty. That an Expedition of this consequence might not be undertaken without a probable Assurance of Success, the *Duke de Ripperda* began to apply himself to the negotiating a Treaty of Alliance with certain Powers in the North, intending to follow the Steps of his Predecessor *Alberoni*, and in the midst of a general Confusion, to take all the Advantages imaginable, that might enable him to act in favour of *Spain*. Something of this sort he hinted to the *British* Minister, either out of Confidence, or with a political View. However it was, such a Rumour was quickly spread of the Duke's great and dangerous Designs, as alarmed most of the Courts of *Europe*, and occasioned such a Variety of Armaments, as startled the most considerate among the *Spanish* Counsellors; who, seeing however no hopes of destroying the Duke's Credit with their Catholick Majesties, contented themselves with publishing their Suspicions to the People, whereby they thought themselves secure of raising such a Ferment, as should one time or other prove fatal to this over-grown Minister.

The Minister himself helped forward his Enemies in their Designs, by some ill-judged Measures, especially at so critical a Season. He would needs

persuade the *Spanish* Grantees to exert their Influence over the common People, in order to procure not only an Amendment of some particular Customs, but also an entire Change in their manner of Living. He pressed them on the head of the new Manufactures at *Segovia*; which, tho' at this time wholly managed by Foreigners, he wished, in the next Age, might be carried on by the *Spaniards* themselves, and by them only. He observed the great Deficiencies that every where appeared in the Arts of Husbandry and Gardening; he insisted on the ancient Fruitfulness of *Spain*, the mighty Wealth of the *Moorish* Kingdom of *Grenada*, the Possibility of doing something of the like nature even in these times; the Consequences of which he shewed would be of inexpressible Benefit to the *Spaniards*, would change the whole face of their Affairs at home and abroad, and raise such a real Power, as would necessarily make its Enemies tremble. The *Grantees*, far from relishing his Proposals, which they judged wild and impracticable, instilled into the Minds of the People an incurable Aversion for the Politicks of the Duke de *Ripperda*, whom they represented as a Man disaffected to the *Spanish* Nation, one who grudged them their Privileges, and who was for reducing all Degrees of People, Gentlemen as well as others, to a manual Labour of some sort, which was no better than degrading them into Artificers, or Peasants. These Representations had in time their Effects. For the *Spaniards* being extremely bigotted to their own Notions in all things, could not bear with any patience to hear of punishing Laziness, or putting an end to that Custom of Walking and Chatting in publick Places a great part of the Day, which is in use, even among the meanest of the People.

One may in some measure excuse the Duke de *Ripperda's* Zeal in this Affair, by considering the Circumstances himself was in, and the deplorable Con-

Condition of the *Spanish* Nation. He knew that want of Success would ruin him, how right soever his Intentions were; he saw that *Spain* could not carry into execution the Projects he had formed, if her Affairs were not put upon some better foot than that in which they then stood. Self-Preservation therefore, and a Desire of discharging his Duty, both led him to this Measure, which was chiefly wrong in its being so ill-timed. A War seemed to be on the point of breaking out, while the Minister talked of such Reformatations, as could be only made in a time of profound Peace. This was improved by those who did not love him, so as to do him hurt; and the same Persons found means also to misrepresent other parts of his Conduct, which, tho' they made an ill appearance in their Accounts of them, were not in themselves either criminal or absurd.

For instance, he had framed a Scheme for a general Peace, which was also to be perpetual; so that the Arms of the *European* Powers might be so employed, as to encrease their common Grandeur. He shewed part of this Project to his Friends, who were extremely charmed with it, notwithstanding they knew very well, that it was not at all feasible; nay, the Duke knew it himself, and when he spoke of it, was wont to call it his *Political Romance*. Those, who hated him, would needs have this the Effects of some Disorder or Distraction of Mind; they represented it as an enthusiastical half-witted Scheme, and were very desirous of concluding from thence, that the Duke *de Ripperda* declined in his Capacity, and was no longer fit for Affairs of State. These Notions were not of a nature proper to be publickly spoken of, and therefore his Enemies contented themselves with dark Hints and distant Observations, knowing that these would be quickly so canvassed by the numerous Politicians in *Madrid*, as to raise such a Disturbance

sturbance as they wanted. These things could not be conducted with such Secrecy, but that they reached the Ear of the Minister, who being already out of humour with various Disappointments, lost all Patience when he discovered these Contrivances, and expressed himself with such Vehemence, as did not suit very well either with his high Quality, or the Character he sought to support of a consummate Politician.

There are certain times in which a Man's Genius seems to desert him, and to leave him entirely void of that Penetration, Strength of Mind, and Faculty of acting properly, with which he is at other times endued, thereby laying him open to his Enemies, and making him a sort of a passive Author of his own Ruin. Such times may be observed in the Lives of most Ministers; and if I may be indulged a Conjecture, they usually follow on their reaching the Top and Pinnacle of Preferment. For as there is a constant Revolution in Nature, it follows, that when a Man is once at the Top of the Wheel, it cannot be long before he is rolled down again. A proper Caution this to the Great, and especially to great Ministers, who are of all others the most apt to grow dizzy with good Fortune, and to forget the slippery Foundation, on which even in their happiest Hours they stand.

Among the most formidable of the Duke *de Ripperda's* Enemies, were the following Persons of Distinction, *viz.* the Marquis *Grimaldi*, of whose Disposition we have said something before; he had been the King's most favour'd Minister for a long Tract of Time, and yet upon pretence of an Indisposition he laboured under for some time, was removed to make way for the Duke; this filled him with Spleen, at the same time that it afforded him great leisure to gratify it. He had a strict Eye on the Minister's Motions, and made it the business of his Life to make and to collect such Observations
on

on the Duke's minutest Actions, as might render him ridiculous or odious. The Marquis *de Castellar*, who had lost the Office of Secretary at War, assisted him in this Affair; he was proud, peevish and passionate, but accustomed to Business, and had many Dependants. M. *de Ariasa* had lost the Charge of Superintendant of the Finances, and as he was a Man of Intrigue, he dedicated his Thoughts and his Endeavours to the Service of this Party. M. *Patinho*, having been deprived of his Posts of Secretary of State for the Marine and for the *Indies*, hated the Duke heartily. M. *Larbaro*, who had been Superintendant of the Tobacco, and two or three other Men of Business, who had been turned out of important and lucrative Employments, were in the same Sentiments; and all together they consulted privately how to bring Matters to such a Crisis, as that the King should be obliged to part with his Favourite. To this end, they distorted many things, and invented more, talk'd of them to each other in publick calmly, as if they had been ordinary Articles of News. By this means they engaged a great part of the Inhabitants of *Madrid* in their Faction; especially, as was before observed, when they alledged, that the Duke *de Ripperda* intended to hinder them from sleeping after Dinner, and loitering away the Evenings in Places of publick Resort.

The Duke of *Wharton* was at this time at *Madrid*, under the Title of Duke of *Northumberland*, and adorned with the Garter, bestowed upon him by the *Pretender*; it was well known he had no other Business there than to promote his Master's Interests, and that he was privately encouraged, tho' he was not publickly admitted at the Court. There were also three Men of War in the Ports of *Spain*, which sailed from *Petersburgh*, fitted out by the Friends of the same Person; and the Duke *de Ripperda* was not only in the Secret of these
Trans-

Transactions, but spoke of them openly, and with an Air of Haughtiness and Threatning. His Friends thought this proceeded from his great Zeal; but his Enemies gave quite another Turn to the Affair. They asserted, that his rash and warm Speeches were not in reality the Effects of Passion, but of Premeditation, and that under colour of insulting the King of *Great Britain* and the *British* Nation, he made use of such Expressions before the *British* Minister, or before such as he knew would report what he said, as tended to a Discovery of the secret Designs of *Spain*. They made a kind of Catalogue of his Indiscretions, beginning with the Story we have before-mentioned of his affronting King *George* at *Vienna*, in a Conversation after a great Entertainment he had given, and ending with many Slips of the same sort of a later Date. As for example, his saying on the Treaty of *Hanover*, *Well! well! we shall teach these little Gentlemen to make Treaties* (meaning the Kings of *Great Britain* and *Prussia*;) and his saying frequently at Dinner, that Cardinal *Alberoni* made a false Step in sending that Fleet to *Sicily*, which he should have sent to *England*. It must be owned, that these Reflections were not altogether without Foundation. Yet we cannot condemn the Duke *de Ripperda* without passing a Censure on a certain illustrious Person at *Vienna*, who talked much in the same Language, conversed with and caressed the Duke of *Wharton* while he was there, procured for him a Recommendation from the Baron *de Ripperda* to the Court of *Spain*, and gave him one himself to Count *Konigsberg*, his Imperial Majesty's Ambassador at *Madrid*. These Reflections however answered the ends of those who made them, and fixed Impressions on some who had been formerly the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Friends. Amongst the other causes of his Fall we must not omit his shewing less concern for Religion than he was wont to do. This is a great mark of Weakness

ness in a *Prime Minister*. A Man void of Piety is commonly void of Principles, at least no Man can be certain what they are on which such a Politician acts. This begets a general Distrust among the thinking sort of People, a Faction from the Clergy, and a general Ill-will from the Commons, who never like Men of prophane Dispositions. And this was particularly true in *Spain*.

The Issue of all these Artifices was, that a certain Jesuit, who had a great Interest with their Majesties, was persuaded into a firm Belief of the Duke's Treachery and Guilt, and he found Ways and Means to insinuate it so dextrously to their Majesties under colour of defending the Minister against the Crimes objected to him, that they also began at length to doubt of the Duke *de Ripperda's* Fidelity. The Reverend Father insinuated, that it was currently reported, that the Minister betrayed all their Majesties Councils to the King of *Great Britain's* Ambassador. That at his heart he was an Enemy to the *Spanish* Nation, and sought to destroy them by his Intrigues. That he made free with a great part of the four millions of *Pieces of Eight*, which had been remitted to him while he was at *Vienna*, with many other things of the same nature. This Accusation was followed by a loud Outcry of the People against the Minister for the same Offences, which the Cabal took pains to spirit up, and found a Method to make their Majesties Ear-witnesses of it. Such is the Dexterity of these sort of private Plots in *Spain*, and such the Arts by which a Minister guilty, or not guilty, may be brought into Danger and Disgrace.

Upon this a Cabinet-Council was called in the Absence of the Duke *de Ripperda*, wherein the Catholick King took notice of the Reasons which induced him to confer so many and so great Offices on his present Minister. He spoke much of his Abilities, his Success at *Vienna*, and his indefatigable

gable Discharge of his Duty, in all respects, since his Return to *Spain*. Then he opened the Insinuations he had heard, the Knowledge he had of the People's Discontent, and his own strong Desire to give them all imaginable Satisfaction, without doing Injustice to the Duke. The Ministers highly applauded the King's Wisdom and Moderation; they spoke very tenderly of the Duke *de Ripperda's* Errors, and M. *Patinbo* called them only Mistakes. They then remarked, that the publick Safety might suffer from the Duke's remaining any longer at the head of their Councils, after it was known that he had given some grounds to suspect his Fidelity, with regard to Discoveries made to the *British* Minister. That to preserve the Honour of the Crown, and to pacify a discontented Nation, it was very fit, and even absolutely necessary, that he should be immediately removed from his Post of Prime Minister, and put to justify himself on the head of Peculation, revealing the King's Secrets, and carrying on Intrigues to the prejudice of the Crown of *Spain*. That he should not be treated with the least Severity, unless he was plainly proved guilty; and that on the other hand, if he appeared to be innocent, his Majesty should not only declare him so, but also restore him to his former Power. This was calculated to work upon the King's Temper, who, as he is a Prince of great Mildness as well as strict Justice, would never have lent a patient Ear to any Proposals of a harsher nature. Thus was the Fate of the Duke *de Ripperda* decided without a Hearing; and as his Promotion came without his seeking, or even knowing of it, so his Fall was equally sudden and unforeseen. Miserable Fate of Courtiers, who rise they know not how, and sink they know not why!

This Resolution was no sooner taken than it was executed: the Duke *de Ripperda* had an Apartment in the Palace; and as soon as the Council was

was broke up, the King sent thither to inform him that he had somewhat to communicate to him. The Duke, who had not the least Suspicion of the King's entertaining any Doubts of his Conduct, repaired with great Alacrity to the Royal Apartment. He no sooner camy thither, than his Majesty address'd him in the following Terms: " It is a long time, Sir, since I thought myself truly happy, in having found a Man able and worthy to govern my great Dominions, which Character, till very lately, I conceived to belong to you. But within these few days I have receiv'd Accounts not to be neglected of your Mismanagements and ill Conduct. I shall not trouble you with the Repetition of all I have been told. I will content myself for the present with informing you, that you are charged, amongst other things, with embezzling a great part of the Sums remitted to you at *Vienna*. If you are innocent (as from the bottom of my Heart I hope you are) you will be able to make it appear, and be assured that this will be most agreeable to me, who, with great Reluctancy bring myself to tell you, that I must thank you for the Services you have done me for the present, tho' when you have justified yourself, I may, and probably shall, imploy you again."

At first, the Duke *de Ripperda* was so much astonished, that he lost the use of Speech. But recovering by degrees, and resuming all his natural Vehemence, he answered the King thus; " It is impossible for me to doubt of your Majesty's Kindness and Affection, considering the many and great Proofs I have received of it; neither ought I to be surprized, that I have many and potent Enemies, your Majesty's Favours have been too conspicuous not to procure them, and how great soever my own Innocence may be, I had no cause to believe, that it could defend me

" from

“ from them, since I have long known, that your
 “ Majesty, who is the justest Prince upon Earth,
 “ have also some who do not love you. This it is
 “ true I always thought; and indeed I think so
 “ still, that Clamour shall never overbear me, or
 “ the bold Assertions of my Enemies confound me.
 “ They must object Facts, and Facts are always
 “ capable of Proof on one side as well as the other.
 “ Your Majesty in your great Goodness, hath been
 “ particularly pleased to mention the Sums remitted
 “ to me at *Vienna*. Now I hope, that my affirming
 “ myself innocent in this respect, will for the pre-
 “ sent balance whatever my Enemies may have said.
 “ As to the thing itself, it is certainly capable of
 “ being set in such a light, as will fully satisfy
 “ your Majesty. Let a time be fixed for this, and
 “ if I do not give your Majesty the most convincing
 “ Evidence of my Integrity, let me bear the utmost
 “ Weight of your Majesty’s Displeasure. But let
 “ me not be ruined meerly because I have been so
 “ happy as for a time to enjoy your Majesty’s Con-
 “ fidence. Let not this be my Crime, lest it should
 “ be more fatal to your Majesty than to me. If
 “ your Servants are to be removed, by false and
 “ general Accusations, these will never be wanting,
 “ while there are so many ambitious Men about
 “ yours, as there is about every Court. Your Coun-
 “ cils will be divided, your Measures become fluc-
 “ tuating, and all *Europe* will discern that Diffe-
 “ rence in your Majesty’s Conduct, which I had ra-
 “ ther you should conceive, than I describe.” The
 King was very much moved by what the Duke *de*
Ripperda had said, and would probably have con-
 tinued him in the Administration, if his Enemies
 had not so violently interposed, and represented the
 Uneasiness of the People to be such, as could no o-
 therwise be removed, than by displacing the Duke.

For this reason, his Majesty would not suffer the
 Duke *de Ripperda* to leave his Presence in any kind
 of

of Uncertainty. “ I know, added his Majesty, “ that you have many and powerful Enemies, so “ many and so powerful, that I find myself con- “ strain’d to tell you, that you can be no longer “ Prime Minister ; all your other Places however “ you may enjoy, and remain secure of my Pro- “ tection.” “ Is it so ? returned the Duke ; then I “ know what Measures I have to take, since your “ Majesty has thought me unworthy of one Place, “ I think myself unworthy of them all ; permit me “ therefore to resign them to your Majesty, from “ whom I received them, and to have your leave “ to retire into a Monastery, till such time as your “ Majesty may have leisure to enter into the Parti- “ culars of my Administration, and either to con- “ demn or justify my Conduct.” His Catholick Majesty, who did by no means expect so much Firmness in the Duke, received his Proposition with Surprise and Regret ; he endeavour’d to persuade the Duke, that it was not for his own Interest, or for his Majesty’s Honour, that he should quit all his Dignities in so abrupt a manner, that his Enemies would not only triumph upon it, but also pretend to find therein ample Proofs of his Guilt. The Duke however was proof against all these gentle Remonstrances, he kept close to his first Resolution, and having besought his Majesty to remember, that he had solemnly promised him his Protection, he withdrew from the Palace, and went to the House of a private Gentleman his Friend.

There he gave a loose to his Sorrows, lamenting the Miseries attending a Court-life, and the Uncertainty of that Grandeur, to which a Man of Spirit naturally aspires. He comforted himself however with the Thoughts of covering himself from the Insults of his Inferiours, by retiring from all the World, and injoying in a religious Solitude the Pleasure of contemning those Vanities, by which

hitherto he, as well as the rest of the World, had been deceived. His Friend, tho' he was a Man of infinitely less Genius, yet having better Notions of things than he, in consequence of his being less concern'd, took the liberty of representing to the Duke, that his Behaviour had less of Nothing than of Resolution; that it was well enough in a Woman to quit the World, when she had lost her Reputation in it, but that it was altogether unworthy of a great Minister, who had been long conversant in the Affairs of Princes, and who had governed the *Spanish* Dominions with such an unlimited Authority. He exhorted him to collect his Spirits, to divest himself of those Desires, which suited only the Post he had lost, to descend again to his former Temper, to remember the pleasant Hours he had spent before he became a Minister, and to persuade himself, that a Man was not therefore miserable, because he had no longer a whole Nation for his Domesticks. He shewed him the Impiety of pretending to dedicate himself to the Service of God, meerly because he had been thought unworthy to serve a King; and he exposed the Folly of seeking Ease in a Retreat for ever, when the unbearable Evil, which occasioned it, was in itself temporary, and would of course wear off, whenever he had Courage enough to consider it. On the whole therefore he prevailed so far as to induce him to change his first Resolution, and to content himself with going to his own House at *Segovia*, till he should see what Turn things would take, what Interest his Enemies had with his Majesty, and what Remains of Affection still belonged to himself. At another time, the Duke *de Ripperda* would scarce have born Advice given him in so free a way; but now Misfortune had a little tamed his Spirit, and he was got without the Atmosphere of a Court, he thought and spoke in a milder way, the Delusion
which

which hung about him began to disappear; and the Duke *de Ripperda*, who a little before would scarce turn his eyes upon an ordinary Person, began to be of Opinion, that there was no great Difference between him and a private Man; that there was no essential Dignity in Title; and that the having been Great, was by no means a piece of Happiness.

When the Duke arrived at his House at *Segovia*, he found all things there in the utmost Confusion. His Servants appeared not only dejected and afflicted, but in a manner senseless, and without Motion. Instead of receiving their Master as they were wont to do, with all possible Expressions of Joy and sincere Affection, they either avoided looking upon him at all, or as soon as they cast their eyes on him, stood stock still and melted into Tears. The Duke was not so struck with this, as to bear a part in this universal Scene of Sorrow; on the contrary it awakened his Spirits, and enabled him to behave with great Firmness and Decency. He spoke to each of his Domesticks tenderly, and with the Air rather of a Parent than of a Master; he put them in mind that these Transports of Grief were equally injurious to themselves and to him, at the same time that they were in a great measure ill founded. It is true, said he, I am no longer Prime Minister, but I am still Duke *de Ripperda*, and have done nothing unbecoming my Character, or the Post to which the King my Master raised me. We were all happy together here at *Segovia*, before I was Minister; what shall hinder our being so again? Perhaps I have been too little attentive to the Affairs of my Family; if so, I bless God for having thus recalled me to my Duty.

Perceiving that this made little Impression on his Servants, he passed through them to the Duchess's Apartment, where he found her in a State little

different from Distraction; sometimes she lay on her Bed, as if she had lost her Senses; presently afterwards she started up and ran up and down the Room, clapping her Hands and tearing her Hair. Then she sat down and cursed the *Spanish* Court, her Husband's Ambition, her own Folly, and the Arts of the Jesuits, by which *Holland*, that Land of Liberty and Peace, as she now call'd it, was first render'd hateful to them. The Duke *de Ripperda* suffered these Transports for a time, till the Violence of her Sorrow was somewhat spent, and then he expostulated with her on the Folly of her Behaviour. He told her, that he retired to *Segovia*, purely that he might enjoy the Comfort of her Conversation. That in the midst of so many and so great Misfortunes, he stood in need of Consolation, and was very unfit to console others. Yet such, continued he, is my Fate, that I must not only bear my own Misfortunes, but I must also labour to make the very sight of them bearable to those that are about me. Consider, Madam, cry'd he, how great Injury your Sighs and Tears will unquestionably do me; no body doubts, that the Duke *de Ripperda* hath been deprived, by the Arts of his Enemies, of the first Post in *Spain*; but you will leave it out of doubt that he was not deprived of it, till he deserved no longer to keep it; his Wife, the World will say, must know his Affairs the best of any body, and her excessive Affliction is a Demonstration of his Guilt. Believe me, Madam, this they will say, how little soever I deserve it, and therefore let me conjure you, to act with more Prudence; perhaps, what I am going to say may conduce to this; tho' I have lost the supreme Direction of Affairs, his Majesty is so far from believing all that my Enemies have told him, that he has condescended to sollicit me to keep some of my Employments, and of these nothing can de-
prive

prive me but my own choice. Ah! my dear Lord, cry'd the Duchess, resign them immediately. Let us! let us! once more be free, let us escape out of a Country, where Power is entirely directed by Will, where we know not to-day what we shall possess to-morrow, where Abilities cannot secure Preferment, or Innocence Protection. O! that I had never been a Duchess. O! that the Vanities of this World had never been my Delight. See! my dear Lord! see! how empty they are! And let us, as soon as it is possible, retire somewhere to enjoy true Repose. There is nothing, said the Duke, I wish more. Yet, whatever we do, let us do it with Dignity and Decency. The Duchess being by this time brought a little to herself, they spent the Evening more agreeably, and the whole Family began to recover its wonted Peace.

The next Morning after Breakfast, the Duke *de Ripperda* retired to his Closet, there to meditate on the Measures he should take. What passed in his Thoughts it is impossible to say. All we know is, that when he came from thence to Dinner, if he did not appear chearful, he seemed at least serene, and much less dejected than when he came from *Madrid*. This State of things did not continue long; for in the Afternoon he received the following Billet from the Marquis *de la Paz*.

S I R,

‘ THE King, our Master, having thought
 ‘ proper to admit the Representation your
 ‘ Excellency made yesterday, as to your being dis-
 ‘ charged from the Employments his Majesty had
 ‘ confer’d upon your Excellency; he hath thought
 ‘ fit to gratify you with a Pension of three thou-
 ‘ sand Pistoles *per Annum*, until such time as his
 ‘ Majesty shall again employ your Excellency in his
 ‘ Service,

‘ Service, in such a manner as to him shall seem
 ‘ proper. This is that of which I am to inform
 ‘ your Excellency, by his Majesty’s Orders, that
 ‘ you might know his Royal Resolution on the
 ‘ one Affair and on the other.

From the Palace,
 May 14, 1726.

I am, Yours, &c.

John Baptift de Orendayne.

As soon as the Duke received this Letter, he began to put his Affairs in order, being fully resolved to put himself under the Protection of Colonel *Stanbope* the *British* Minister, that he might be safe from the Rage of the People ; which, as some Friends he still had about Court, informed him, was blown up and pushed on by his Enemies, that they might effectually destroy him, without appearing themselves the immediate Authors of his Destruction. This was a Measure by no means approved by the *Duchess* ; her Advice was, that he should retire to a Convent ; but as this never was to the Taste of *M. de Ripperda*, he would not vouchsafe so much as to take it into Consideration. When he had adjusted his Affairs, and taken care of his Papers, he went to the House of *M. Vandermeer*, Ambassador from the States-General, and humbly besought him to carry him in his Coach to Colonel *Stanbope’s*, the only Place wherein, as he apprehended, he could be safe from the Populace, who had insulted several of his Domesticks, and had openly threatned to pull himself in pieces.

The *Dutch* Ambassador could not refuse this small Favour to his Countryman, he comply’d with his Desire, and convey’d him immediately to Colonel *Stanbope’s* House. When they came thither, they found that Minister had been in the Country a Fortnight, and had no thoughts of returning to Town unless any extraordinary Business required

required his Presence. This chagrin'd the Duke not a little. However *M. Vandermeer* advised him to stay where he was, and to expect that Minister's Return to the City. The Duke readily complied with this, and believing himself to be now in perfect Security, began to enter into a Conference with *M. Vandermeer* on the Subject of his own Disgrace. A melancholy Topick for a Minister, and yet a Topick of which most fallen Ministers are particularly fond. He took notice of his Majesty's Conversation with him the day of his Dismission, he insisted very emphatically on the pain it cost his Majesty to part with him, he spoke in very high Terms of his own Services, and of the Facility with which he could disprove all the Charges of his Enemies. He concluded all, by producing the Letter of the Marquis *de la Paz*, by which it appeared that his Majesty had granted him a Pension of three thousand Pistoles a Year. The *Dutch* Minister heard him very patiently; and when he had done speaking, "I am, said he, more surpris'd than ever at the Terror and Confusion I have seen your Excellency under; what Grounds, what Cause could there be for it, considering things are in the Situation you mention? The Populace never lost all Sense of Duty, so far as to attempt any thing against a Person under his Majesty's Roof. And there, for aught I can perceive, you still might have been, if you had so thought fit. As it is, I would have you take all the care you can of your Safety; and at the same time moderate your Resentment so far, as not to help out the Malice of your Enemies, by any indiscreet Act of your own."

While they were speaking, *M. Stanhope* came in by meer Accident, and expressing his Surprize at the sight of the Duke and *M. Vandermeer*; the former gave him very few Words on account of

the Reasons which had brought him thither. The first Question M. *Stanhope* asked was, whether his Excellency had still any Employment, or was in any manner whatsoever in the Service of his Catholick Majesty? The Duke reply'd in the negative, assuring him, that he had resigned all his Employments into his Majesty's hands, and that his Majesty had accepted the Resignation. M. *Stanhope* then asked, if he was of Opinion the King of *Spain* believed him guilty of any Malversation in his Offices, for which he intended to prosecute him; in which case he would not so much as converse with him, much less afford him his Protection. To this the Duke returned, that this was so far from being the Case, that his Majesty had since been pleased to grant him a Pension of three thousand Pistoles *per Annum*, as a Recompence for his Services. At the same time that he said this, he presented M. *Stanhope* with the Letter from the Marquis *de la Paz*. When M. *Stanhope* had read it, he asked the Duke what it was he was afraid of, or why he thought it necessary to put himself under his Protection? "Why, reply'd the Duke in some heat, " because I apprehend my Life to be in great danger; my Enemies, though they cannot persuade " the King to believe me guilty, have notwithstanding got the Mob to think so, insomuch, " that the same day I received this Letter, they " insulted some of my Domesticks, and threatned " to come this night to plunder my House and " murder me. Judge then, Sir, if I had not " some Reason to think of finding some place of " Safety; and judge too, whether you have any " Reason in being offended at my making choice " of your House."

The *British* Minister, that he might secure himself from all Censure in this troublesome Affair, engaged the Duke *de Ripperda* to send the Secretary of

of State a distinct Account of the Motives which induced him to take shelter in his Excellency's House. The next Morning, being the 16th of *May*, M. *Stanbope* went early to Court, and had a particular Conference with his Majesty, wherein he acquainted him with all that had passed between himself and the Duke *de Ripperda*. At this Audience, his Majesty declared he was very well satisfied with M. *Stanbope*'s Conduct, tho' he thought he had reason to be offended with the Step the Duke *de Ripperda* had taken of sheltering himself in the House of a foreign Minister. His Majesty added, that the Duke had demanded a Passport, in order to retire to *Holland*; but that this would not be granted him, until he had restor'd a great many Papers of Consequence belonging to his Majesty, which were in his power. The King desir'd that M. *Stanbope* would give him his word, that the Duke *de Ripperda* should not retire from his House without notice given to the Court, before a List of the Papers just now mentioned was made, and he had discovered where those Papers were. To which M. *Stanbope* agreed.

On the Return of the *British* Minister to his House, he gave the Duke *de Ripperda* an exact Account of all that had passed, assured him, that he might now set his mind at rest, and be satisfied that he should enjoy in his House Security and Peace, till such time as he could settle his Affairs, and restore to his Majesty the Papers of State in his power, for which the King would send the next day; and that except on this head, he did not perceive that his Majesty intended to subject his Excellency to any Inquiries. The Duke thank'd him heartily for the pains he had taken, and promised him eternal Gratitude. In the midst of this Conversation, came a Servant to acquaint M. *Stanbope*, that there was an Officer from the Court below

low stairs, who had brought him a Letter from the Marquis *de la Paz*. M. *Stanhope* immediately went to speak to that Officer, and received from him the following Billet.

S I R,

‘ THE King is perfectly satisfied with the Promise your Excellency was pleased to give his Majesty on the head of the Duke *de Ripperda*’s Security in your House ; but as all the Precautions your Excellency can possibly take, may not be sufficient to prevent the Follies and Extravagancies he is capable of committing, his Majesty, for greater Security, hath determined to post certain Parties of his Guards at the Avenues, which lead to your Excellency’s House, to prevent the Effects of any Irregularities the Duke may commit, in spite of your Excellency’s sage and prudent Advice. His Majesty hath not the least Distrust in this Affair of your Excellency ; but does this purely to prevent Accidents. This is what I am commanded to acquaint you with, that you may on your part entertain no Doubts of the Royal Confidence.’ *I am, &c.*

The *British* Minister was not a little offended at this extraordinary Step, which he conceived to be an Infringement of the Privileges due to his Character. He went however instantly back to the Duke *de Ripperda*, and gave him an Account of the Contents of the Letter he had received. Upon this the Duke lost all Temper, and rising out of his Chair, as if he had absolutely parted with his Senses, cried out ; “ How ? What is this that these People mean ? First, they will have your Promise, that I shall not escape ; then they set Guards. What, have I been guilty of High-Treason ? If I have, why don’t they charge
“ me

“ me with it ? What sort of acting is this, to use
 “ a Man as a Criminal, not only before he is con-
 “ victed, but before he is accused ? ” *M. Stanhope*
 was obliged to make use of all his Rhetorick to
 quiet the Duke, to engage him to sit down, and to
 restrain him from going to the Windows, and abu-
 sing the Guards. With much ado he effected this ;
 but he had hardly done it before he found himself
 in worse Circumstances.

The Duchess of *Ripperda* burst into the Room
 without Ceremony, or the smallest Respect to De-
 cency. She had been informed, that her Husband's
 Enemies resolved to prosecute him to the utmost.
 This sent her to the Ambassador's House, where
 she behaved like a Creature distracted. Not con-
 tent with railing at the Court of *Spain*, cursing the
 new Ministry, and reproaching her Husband in the
 grossest Language, she fell to howling, stamping,
 tearing her Hair, and shrieking so loud, that it
 was some time before the Duke and *M. Stanhope*
 could possibly appease her.

When things were once pacify'd within doors,
 the *British* Ambassador went abroad, in order to
 acquaint the rest of the publick Ministers resident
 at *Madrid*, with the extraordinary Step the Court
 had thought fit to take, in placing Guards on all
 the Passages leading to his House, that they might
 take Measures in concert for the obtaining proper
 Satisfaction. In the Evening, the Ambassador
 confer'd again with his Guest, and took a great
 deal of pains to shew him, not only the Weakness
 and Folly, but the Danger and ill Consequence of
 such violent Proceedings as those were to which he
 seemed inclined. The Duke seemed very little mo-
 ved with all that could be said. He thought him-
 self excessively injured, spoke of the *Spanish* Na-
 tion in general, as People under great Obligations
 to him, affirming he had restored Order to their
 Affairs,

Affairs, and given a Face of Regularity to their Councils and Courts of Justice; where before the Great were able to obtain all things, and the meaner sort nothing. It was indeed owned, that he had done some extraordinary things in the Offices he had possessed, and that by dint of unwearied Diligence, united to a vigorous Imagination, he had discharged with wonderful Exactness a Multiplicity of Posts. Yet still this did not justify his accepting them; they were what never before came into the hands of one Man; they were in their own nature incompatible; and if the Duke had been contented with fewer, it would not have only raised his Character, but also have preserved his Person and his Power; if not from Malice and Envy, at least from Outrage and Insult. All this he was told, but to very little purpose; Vanity and Resentment possessed him, insomuch that he spent the whole Day, either in commending himself, or in condemning of others; and this, one may venture to say, not much to the good Liking of those who were constrained to hear him.

On the 18th of the same Month, that is of *May* 1726, Mr. *Stanhope* received another Letter from the Marquis *de la Paz* to this purpose: “ That as
 “ his Majesty was thoroughly satisfied the Duke
 “ *de Ripperda* neither had, or pretended to have
 “ any other Reason for taking shelter in his Ex-
 “ cellency’s House, excepting only his fear of the
 “ Populace; to remove this, and the Scandal gi-
 “ ven by his living under the Protection of a fo-
 “ reign Prince in his Catholick Majesty’s Capital,
 “ the King was willing to take upon himself the
 “ care of providing for his Security, with which
 “ he desired his Excellency to acquaint the Duke;
 “ as also that his Majesty would put him beyond
 “ the reach of Apprehension, in case he would
 “ consent to leave his Excellency’s House; which,
 “ from

“ from his great Prudence, his Majesty hoped the
“ Ambassador would think highly convenient.”

On the Receipt of this Letter, M. *Stanhope* apply'd himself seriously to his Guest ; he told him, that as it was in his own power to make choice of what Convent he pleased, and as his Catholick Majesty was so good as to engage his Royal Word for his safety, all the Ends he thought to answer by retiring to his House, would be as effectually answered by yielding to the King's Request. But the Duke *de Ripperda*, it seems, (tho' he once consented to it) knew better things. From the time of his Conversion, he had been acquainted with Monks of all Orders ; the Consequence of which was, that he did not care to trust himself with any Order. To speak the truth, he had no great Reason. Of all the Convents in *Madrid*, that of the Jesuits would have been naturally his Choice ; he had been the Pupil, Friend, and Protector of that Order. He had given great Sums of Money and Plate to a vast value to this very Convent ; and yet the Reverend Fathers not only deserted him in his Distress, but joined with the fiercest of his Accusers, railed at him with excessive Bitterness, and were at pains to proclaim themselves as much his Enemies, as ever they had been reputed his Friends. We need not wonder therefore, that the Duke did not make choice of this sort of Convent, or that, having no reason to chuse it, he was less inclined to any other. Neither need we be surpris'd, that, after many Hours Expostulation, M. *Stanhope* was forced to return the Marquis *de la Paz* for Answer, That it was impossible to persuade the Duke to any thing.

It must be own'd, that while the Court was thus treating with the Duke and M. *Stanhope*, the Enemies of the fallen Minister had excited the Populace to commit excessive Disorders ; they ran up
and

and down the Streets in Crouds, reproaching, cursing and threatning the Duke. They abused such of his Servants as attempted to stir out of doors; they insulted in their own Houses such Persons of Distinction, as were supposed to be his Friends; nay, what was yet more scandalous and indecent, they fell upon the poor Duchess *de Ripperda* in her Coach, stopp'd her, gather'd round her, called her Husband all the reproachful Names they could devise, expressed their Joy in his Destruction, making solemn Vows to come and pillage his House, and to leave him nothing he could call his own in *Spain*. By this Treatment the Duchess was prevented from visiting her Husband, and the Duke confirmed in his Opinion, that notwithstanding his Majesty's Kindness and Regard for him, his Enemies would spirit up the Mob to destroy him, and then throw the Load of their own Malice upon the People.

The Catholick King, pressed by the Enemies of the Duke *de Ripperda*, refer'd his Case to the Consideration of the Council of *Castile*. This Tribunal is the first in *Spain*; it was erected by King *Ferdinand* the Third, about the Year 1245. It is composed of a President and five Counsellors of State. The President is equal, or rather superiour in Dignity to our Lord Chancellor. When he enters the Council-Chamber, the Counsellors rise; and when he retires, they accompany him to the Stairs. Whoever has Business with him, must go to him, for he never pays any Visits. To this Council in a collective Body the Title of Majesty is given, and in speaking to them, they use that of Highness. This Council were to a Man no Favourers of the Duke *de Ripperda*; they therefore made an Order for his being taken by force out of the Ambassador's House the 21st of *May*. Upon which the Marquis *de la Paz* wrote another Letter to M. *Stanhope*, which

which was not delivered however till the 25th, when this Order was put in execution.

After the Council of *Castile* had actually made this Order, there remained some difficulty in procuring his Catholick Majesty's Consent. His Ministers did not fail to represent the mighty Prejudices which might happen to his Affairs, if the Traitor, as they stiled the late Minister, should continue to brave his Majesty's Justice in the House of a foreign Minister, and remain there at liberty to carry on his Intrigues. Amongst those who pushed this Advice with the greatest Vehemence, were some who had been the *Duke de Ripperda's* intimate Friends, whether they deserted him out of Interest or Fear is uncertain; but it is very well known, that of all his Enemies these were the most implacable; and these were they who at last persuaded his Majesty, that there was an absolute Necessity to secure the *Duke de Ripperda's* Person.

A Jesuit is said to have been the principal Person who drew his Majesty to comply with the Representations made to him on this head; and he did it chiefly by urging this Argument: That the *Duke de Ripperda* was at present equally out of the reach of his Majesty's Justice and Mercy; that if on an impartial Inspection of his Ministry, it should appear the Duke had betray'd the Secrets of State, and thereby incur'd capital Punishment, his Majesty would not only lose his Right of making him an Example, but what was infinitely more precious in his sight, the Capacity of sparing, the God-like Power of pardoning so great a Criminal; as on the contrary, if he was innocent, his Majesty would for ever lose a useful and a faithful Servant: At the same time that so ill an Example would be set, as might encourage others of his Majesty's Ministers to do what the *Duke de Ripperda* was accused of doing, in hopes of meeting a like Protection.

The

The Order for his being taken away was executed on the 25th in the following manner. Don *Lewis de Cueillar*, *Alcaid* of the Court, Knight of the Order of St. *James*, was charged with this important Commission. About six in the Morning, he drew near the Ambassador's House, where he found a Detachment of Life-Guards, under the Marshal de Camp, Don *Francisco de Valansa*, Grand Commander of *Castile*, and Knight of the Order of St. *James*, who had Orders to support him. A Coach followed slowly without noise, till such time as they drew close to the Door of the Ambassador's House. It so happen'd, that M. *Stanhope's* Porter was earlier up than ordinary that day; he thought this Troop was going to exercise, and therefore came out to look at them. The *Alcaid*, like a great General, seized this favourable Opportunity, dismounted, and with a couple of Guards at his Heels, secured the Door. He then asked the Porter, whether the Ambassador was stirring? To which the Domestick answered, that it was not his Custom to rise so early. The *Alcaid* then asked in what Part of the House M. *de Ripperda* lay, of which being inform'd, he went directly up Stairs to his Apartment, attended by two of the Guards, the rest remaining at the Gate. The Noise they made by stamping with their Boots, awak'd the Ambassador, who desired the *Alcaid* to suspend the Execution of his Order. The Officer said, it was not in his power, and at the same time deliver'd him a Letter from the Marquis *de la Paz*. His Excellency retired to read it, and found the Purport of it to be this:

“ That his Majesty knowing well the Capacity
 “ of the Ambassador, and considering, that he
 “ must be too well acquainted with the Circum-
 “ stances attending the Case of the Duke *de Rip-*
 “ *perda*, not to see the fatal Consequences with re-
 “ spect

“ spect to the Royal Authority over its Ministers,
 “ in case his Majesty should bear any longer with
 “ the Temerity of the Duke, or condescend to re-
 “ ceive any Propositions from him, considering he
 “ looked upon himself as perfectly secure in his
 “ Excellency’s House. That such a scandalous
 “ Example as this, might possibly induce some o-
 “ ther Minister of his Majesty, or indeed of any
 “ other Sovereign Prince, to venture on a Breach
 “ of Trust, in hopes of retiring to the House of
 “ some publick Minister, and putting himself there-
 “ by under Cover from his Master’s Justice, even
 “ in his very Court. It was said, that this and
 “ many other such-like Reflections, which rose so
 “ naturally from the Subject, that they need not
 “ be inserted, ought to engage his Excellency to
 “ redouble his Instances with the Duke *de Ripper-*
 “ *da*, to comply with his Majesty’s Desires, and to
 “ embrace that full Security, which his Majesty
 “ offered him against his Enemies, and the People
 “ of *Madrid*; and this the King the rather expect-
 “ ed from the Ambassador, because he had expres-
 “ sed great Uneasiness at what had happened, and
 “ seemed very desirous of delivering himself from
 “ so embarrassed an Affair.”

While the Ambassador was reading this Letter,
 the Alcaid, and the two Life-Guards, went to
 the Door of the Duke’s Antichamber, where the
 Officer knock’d softly; but the Duke’s Valet de
 Chambre being fast asleep, that would not suffice;
 so he was constrained to knock again a little louder.
 Upon this, the Fellow started, rubb’d his Eyes,
 and cry’d, *Who is there? Here are some*, returned
 the Alcaid, *who desire to speak with your Master.*
To speak with my Master, said the Valet; *Why,*
faith, Gentlemen, you are very early! but let me tell
you, nine o’ Clock is his hour, and stay you must till
then. No! no! cry’d the Alcaid, *we have Matters*

of Consequence to communicate to him, and therefore open the Door. The Fellow, out of pure Curiosity to see what Men of Importance these were, did as he was bid. The Alcaid and his Attendants went directly into the Bed-Chamber of the Duke *de Ripperda*, who all this time slept very soundly. The Noise they made in the Room waked him, and the Alcaid having drawn his Window and Bed-curtains, soon told him his Message. The Duke, in the first moment of his Surprise, threw out a Volley of hard Names against the Alcaid, and starting out of Bed endeavoured to put himself into a Posture of Resistance. But the Guards coming up on a Signal given, and filling his Antichamber, the Duke saw that to resist was vain; he therefore put on his Night-gown, and promised to go with them, which they insisted should be immediately, tho' the Ambassador did all he could to engage them to wait the Answer of a Letter he had sent to the Marquis *de la Paz*. They seized his Papers, sealed them up with abundance of *Spanish* Ceremony, and this being done, they conducted him down Stairs, put him in a Coach, and sent him under a grand Escort to the Castle of *Segovia*.

The Ambassador protested against the Violence done to his House and Character. After the Duke was gone, M. *Stanhope* received another Letter from the Marquis; wherein that Minister laid before him, in few words, the Reasons which induced his Catholick Majesty to act as he had done in respect to the Duke; and at the same time acquainted his Excellency, that the King released him from the Promise he had given him of taking care of the Duke *de Ripperda's* Person. Without all doubt, M. *Stanhope* was not a little moved at the Treatment he had received; but he had so much Discretion in his own Disposition, or had acquired so much of the *Spanish* Phlegm, that he very perfectly dissembled his
Resent-

Repentment, dispatched a Courier with Advice of what had passed to *London*, wrote the following Letter to the Marquis *de la Paz*; and then set out immediately for his Country-house near *Segovia*.

To the Marquis DE LA PAZ.

S I R,

I Received this Morning the Letter you were pleased to write me yesterday, to inform me of the Resolution his Catholick Majesty had taken to tear away by force the *Duke de Ripperda* from the Asylum which he had taken in my House; but as the Execution of that Resolution happened in the same Instant in which I received yours, an Answer would be needless, were it not to renew the Protestations I have already made against an Act of Violence, so contrary to the Law of Nations, and to the Immunities and Privileges annexed to the House of an Ambassador, of which I gave immediate Notice to the King my Master; to the end, that his Majesty being fully informed of this Affair, may take such measures as he shall think necessary, for the Support of his own Honour, and that of the *British* Nation. In waiting such Orders for the regulating of my Conduct, I hope his Catholick Majesty will not take it amiss, that for the present I appear not at Court.

Among the other unlucky Consequences of the *Duke de Ripperda's* Disgrace, one was the Ruin of his Son, the Baron *de Ripperda*, Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of *Vienna*. He was on the point to marry the Countess *de Blaggay*, born Countess of *Coblentz*, a Lady who possessed all things valuable in the Sex, high Birth, great natural Endowments, an excellent Education, surprizing Beauty, and an immense Fortune. The Emperor,

in respect to his Father, and the great pains he had taken in concluding the Treaty of *Vienna*, had effectually promoted this Match, the young Lady's Guardians and other Relations had given their Consents. In a word, all things were on the point of Conclusion, when an Express arrived with the News of the Duke's Disgrace, which of course put all out of order again. The Baron recovered a little from the Surprize he was under, on the Receipt of a Letter from the Marquis *de la Paz*, directing him to continue the Functions of his Ministry, and to rest assured, that his Catholick Majesty would not make him accountable for any of his Father's Miscarriages. This fair Weather however did not last long. For a little after the Secretary of the Embassy, by virtue of Orders directed to him from the Court of *Madrid*, deliver'd the Baron *de Ripperda* his Letters of Revocation, paid the Debts he had contracted, and sealed up his Papers. That unfortunate young Nobleman seeing himself now without a Character, and without Business at *Vienna*, withdrew privately from thence, and repaired with all possible Diligence to *Madrid*, there to comfort his afflicted Mother, in the midst of her many and unforeseen Misfortunes. On his Arrival in that City, all Degrees of People came to compliment him, and to condole with him. For tho' the Duke *de Ripperda*, like most Ministers in Disgrace, had all the World for Enemies; yet were the Virtues of his Son so conspicuous, his Affability, Humanity, and Good-nature so engaging, that never a more general Tendernefs was expressed for any Person, than appeared amongst all the People of Distinction at *Madrid*, on account of his Distress.

The *Spanish* Ministers easily foreseeing that the carrying off the Duke *de Ripperda* by force, might be attended by some very unlucky Consequences, on account of the Reparation which might be demanded

manded by the *British* Court, directed the Marquis *de la Paz* the very same day, to write fully to the Marquis *de Pozobueno*, his Catholick Majesty's Ambassador at *London*, that he might be able to answer distinctly whatever Questions might be put to him by his *Britannick* Majesty or his Ministers. The Marquis *de la Paz* performed this with equal Diligence and Dexterity, as the Reader will see by the following Paper, which is one of the most curious Pieces that ever fell from the Pen of that accomplish'd Minister.

Extract of a Letter from the Marquis de la Paz to the Marquis de Pozobueno. May 25, 1726. N. S.

‘ IT is well known in the World, how great Confidence the King has reposed in the Person of the Duke of *Ripperda*, the Honours he has heap’d upon him, and the Employments to which his Majesty has been pleased to raise him: None is ignorant how great his Benignity was, when having resolved to remove him from the Management of Affairs, he assign’d him an annual Pension of 3000 Pistoles, till such time as he should be employed in a proper manner in the King’s Service. Every body here is informed, that after having accepted in Writing the Pension his Majesty had granted him, he made the most humble and respectful Acknowledgments to the King, for the Goodness, Pity, and Honour which he had condescended to shew him, by treating him with so much Gentleness and Favour. Very far from behaving suitably to these Expressions, he most inconsiderately executed, what perhaps he had before conceived in his Mind, the taking Refuge, before 24 Hours from his Dismission from Affairs were expired, in the House of the Ambassador of

K 3

‘ *England,*

‘ *England*, accompanied by and in the Coach of
‘ the Ambassador of *Holland* ; causing the Furni-
‘ ture and things of most Value belonging to him
‘ the Duke, to be carried that very night, as it
‘ were privily and by stealth, on that Ambassador’s
‘ Mules, to the Ambassador of *England*’s House,
‘ where the Duke of *Ripperda* stayed ; and from
‘ thence he sent to acquaint his Majesty, by a Note
‘ which he wrote to me, that he had betaken him-
‘ self to the said House as to an Asylum against the
‘ Insults he dreaded from the People of *Madrid*.
‘ This has been so publickly known, that to set it
‘ forth more at large and in all its Circumstances,
‘ would be tedious and tiresome : but it is also in-
‘ dispensibly requisite, to give your Excellency a
‘ particular Account of every thing that has hap-
‘ pened in the inmost part of this Affair ; to the
‘ end that at the same time it shall be made publick,
‘ that the Duke of *Ripperda* was this Morning ta-
‘ ken away by the King’s Order, your Excellency
‘ may be informed upon what weighty and mature
‘ Deliberation the King has proceeded on this Oc-
‘ casion ; and of the justifiable Motives, which
‘ have obliged, and even constrained him to take
‘ this last Resolution.

‘ As soon as the Duke of *Ripperda* had given no-
‘ tice, that he had retired to the *English* Ambassa-
‘ dor’s, who himself gave an Account of it to the
‘ King in an Audience which he desired, and which
‘ was granted him immediately, and engag’d his
‘ word to answer for the Duke’s Person : His Ma-
‘ jesty resolved provisionally, and for the greater
‘ Precaution against the Duke’s escaping, if he
‘ should attempt it, that some Soldiers of his Foot-
‘ Guards should, in a quiet manner, secure the A-
‘ venues to the House of the *English* Ambassador,
‘ and post themselves in the Neighbourhood of it,
‘ Care being taken at the same time to communicate

‘ to that Ambassador the said Resolution, signify-
 ‘ ing to him, that though his Majesty depended in-
 ‘ tirely on the Honour of his Word, yet, as the
 ‘ Precautions he might take, might not be suffi-
 ‘ cient to prevent some Disorder which the Duke
 ‘ might raise, his Majesty for the greater Security
 ‘ had taken that Resolution, upon which the Am-
 ‘ bassador needed not to entertain the least Distrust.

‘ After this, his Majesty had the Goodness to
 ‘ order, that the said Ambassador of *England* should
 ‘ by the passing of proper Offices be informed, that
 ‘ the King having considered the Duke’s specious
 ‘ Pretext of his Fear of the People, for justifying
 ‘ his taking Refuge, and asserting the Immunity of
 ‘ the House, his Majesty was pleased to offer him
 ‘ that due Precautions should be taken for his Safe-
 ‘ ty, and for securing him from all Insult, Fear,
 ‘ and Apprehension: Declaring to the said Amba-
 ‘ sador, how much it would be to his Royal Good-
 ‘ liking, that the said Duke should leave his House,
 ‘ and that he would make use of this Expedient,
 ‘ which would immediately dispel all the Motives
 ‘ he had had for seeking Refuge in his House, and
 ‘ for remaining there.

‘ The Ambassador answered, that upon this his
 ‘ Majesty’s Offer, he had founded the Duke’s Mind;
 ‘ who told him, that it was very certain he had
 ‘ assured the King by Writing, that he had no other
 ‘ Motives for taking advantage of the Immunity
 ‘ of his House, than the Apprehension he had con-
 ‘ ceived of the Hatred the People of *Madrid* bore
 ‘ him; but that now looking upon his Majesty as
 ‘ provoked by his Rashness, and justly dreading
 ‘ the Effects of his Royal Indignation, he found
 ‘ himself obliged not to accept the Expedient which
 ‘ had been proposed to him, but to keep within the
 ‘ Sanctuary of that House for his Safety.

‘ Notwithstanding the Obstinacy of so great a
‘ Provocation offered to the Authority of a Sovereign in his own Court, who made use of such
‘ mild and gentle Means, when he might instantly have exerted his Power; his Majesty was willing still to proceed mildly, and caused new Representations to be made to the Ambassador, of
‘ the Prejudices and Consequences which might result against his Sovereign Authority over his Ministers, if no notice should be taken of the Duke’s
‘ Temerity, and if Regard were had to the Propositions he had taken upon him to make to
‘ his Majesty, because he fancied himself to be absolutely out of all danger, by means of the Immunity of the Ambassador’s House. At the same
‘ time was set before him, in strong terms, the Scandal of this Example, which would authorize the
‘ Ministers of his Majesty, and of any other Sovereign, to be wanting to their Duty with Impunity, in hopes of being able to take Refuge afterwards in the House of a publick Minister, and
‘ to withdraw themselves from the Jurisdiction of their Sovereign, in his Presence, and even in his
‘ own Court.

‘ All these Reasons and Reflections were suggested to him, to the end he might the more effectually sollicit the Duke to engage him to quit his
‘ House, and that he might without any Restriction make use of the Expedient his Majesty had offer’d
‘ the Duke for his Security. To this second Application the Ambassador answered, That all the
‘ Instances he had made to the Duke were unavailable and fruitless, and that all he could bring
‘ him to was this, most humbly to beseech his Majesty, to vouchsafe to permit him to retire for some
‘ days into a Convent, which would remove the
‘ Scandal arising from his keeping in the House of

‘ a foreign Minister, and give him time to set his
‘ Innocence in a clear light.

‘ All this did not yet suffice to determine his
‘ Majesty to make use of his Power, without taking
‘ the most mature Advice for his thorough Satisf-
‘ faction; and he resolved to consult his Royal
‘ Council, laying before them all the Circumstances
‘ of the Case, to the end, that, with Knowledge
‘ of the Cause, the Council might consider atten-
‘ tively, whether, without infringing the *Jus Gen-*
‘ *tium*, and the Privileges therein reciprocally con-
‘ sidered and comprehended, as belonging to Re-
‘ presentative Ministers, the King might use force,
‘ and take the Duke *de Ripperda* out of the House
‘ of the Ambassador of *England*.

‘ The Royal Council of *Castile* was duly convened
‘ and fully assembled for this purpose, and having
‘ examined this Affair to the bottom, by seriously
‘ attending to all its Circumstances; the Council
‘ gave the King their Opinion, That the Duke’s
‘ Crime was, in its kind, one of the greatest of
‘ those of High Treason that ever can be committed;
‘ that there were few such Crimes equal to it in its
‘ Circumstances; that there was reason to fear its
‘ Consequences might render it yet more enormous;
‘ that it could not be doubted, that in Crimes of
‘ High Treason, not only the Houses of Ambassa-
‘ dors, but even Churches themselves cannot serve
‘ for Refuge to the Criminals; that to assert the
‘ contrary, would be to maintain that what the
‘ Law of Nations has introduced for their better
‘ Government and Correspondence, might be made
‘ use of for their Ruin and Destruction, by allow-
‘ ing the Refuge granted to the Habitations of Am-
‘ bassadors, out of regard to the Sovereigns they
‘ represent, which has never been extended but to
‘ common Crimes (nor even to them in all Courts)
‘ to be stretched in favour of Subjects, who have
‘ under

‘ under their Direction all the Forces, and the Ma-
‘ nagement of the Finances of Kingdoms, and who
‘ know their Secrets, when they commit Crimes
‘ in their Employments; a thing the most pernicious that could ever enter into the Imagination of any Man; and mutually prejudicial to all States and Princes in the World: for if it were established, they would be obliged to maintain, allow, and tolerate in their own Courts, all those who would contrive and attempt their Ruin; it being evident, that, in such Cases, with such ugly Circumstances, it ought to be presumed, the King of *England* would not approve of them in his Ambassador, nor would defend him; because they are not comprehended among those which the Law of Nations admits, and likewise because of the Prejudice which such Example might bring to himself.

‘ In consequence of this Report, and of Reasons so solid, clear, and incontestably well-grounded, and upon the unanimous Votes of the Directors of his Conscience, his Majesty resolved at length to have the Duke *de Ripperda* taken out of the Ambassador’s House, ordering him to be carried to the Castle of *Segovia*. For which purpose his Majesty appointed Don *Lewis Cuellar*, Knight of the Order of *St. James*, and one of the Alcalds of the Court, (who was assisted by a Party of the Life-Guards, led by Major-General Don *Francis Valansa*, Commander-Major of *Castile* in the Order of *St. James*, and Adjutant-General of the said Life-Guards) with Order, that on this Day, being *Saturday* the 25th of *May*, as soon as the Doors of the Ambassador of *England*’s House should be opened, he should enter it, and take the Duke of *Ripperda*, and with a sufficient Guard convey him to the Castle of *Segovia*, seizing all the Papers he might have, and omitting nothing
‘ for

‘ for securing all those which might be found in his
 ‘ Coffers and elsewhere ; most expressly command-
 ‘ ing, that in case the Ambassador should resist, the
 ‘ said Don *Lewis Cuellar*, and the Major-General
 ‘ should perform the Offices befitting the Regard
 ‘ and Respect due to his Character, before they
 ‘ proceeded to Execution ; but if that should not
 ‘ entirely suffice, to use Force for seizing the Per-
 ‘ son of the Duke.

‘ Before any thing was executed, I did, by Or-
 ‘ der of his Majesty, inform the Ambassador of
 ‘ *England* of all this, discharging him from the
 ‘ Word he had given ; and in consequence of the
 ‘ whole, the Duke of *Ripperda* was this Morning
 ‘ taken away without Scandal or Disturbance, and
 ‘ the said Don *Lewis Cuellar* conducted him to the
 ‘ Castle of *Segovia*, in his Coach, guarded by some
 ‘ of the Life-Guards ; to the end he may be secur’d
 ‘ there at his full Ease, and free from the Insults,
 ‘ which he vainly and without ground apprehended.

‘ His Majesty has ordered me to inform your
 ‘ Excellency of the Particulars of this whole Affair,
 ‘ that you may be apprized of the Justification with
 ‘ which the King has acted therein, and of all that
 ‘ preceded his Majesty’s just Resolution ; that you
 ‘ may acquaint his *Britannick* Majesty and his Court
 ‘ with the Truth of the Fact, and of all that has
 ‘ happened upon it.’

The Marquis *de la Paz*, who was now become
 the Successor of *Ripperda*, was in this respect so
 over-careful, that besides the long Letter above in-
 serted, he wrote another, and detained the Courier
 till such time as he could expedite both together.
 There is a Warmth and Spirit in this short Epistle,
 which would render us inexcusable, if we were to
 omit it ; and therefore the Reader will take it in
 the Minister’s own Words.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from the Marquis de la Paz to the Marquis of Pozobueno.

‘AS the present unexpected Case, which has
 ‘ happened through the Temerity only and
 ‘ great Inconsiderateness of the Duke of *Ripperda*,
 ‘ has been so contrary to the King’s Inclination, as
 ‘ is most clearly apparent from all the Circumstances
 ‘ which have attended it, and which I have very
 ‘ amply described in another Letter to your Excel-
 ‘ lency ; and the King’s most sincere Desire to pre-
 ‘ serve and maintain with his *Britannick* Majesty the
 ‘ most strict and perfect Harmony and Correspon-
 ‘ dence, being not alter’d by it ; his Majesty has
 ‘ order’d me to signify to your Excellency, that
 ‘ when you shall give his *Britannick* Majesty an
 ‘ Account of what has happened, you are at the
 ‘ same time likewise to assure him of the sincere and
 ‘ unalterable Friendship, which the King on his part
 ‘ preserves towards him ; and for a Proof of it,
 ‘ your Excellency is to represent in a strong light
 ‘ the Regard which his Majesty has had the Good-
 ‘ ness to shew to his Ambassador, and his House ;
 ‘ having deferred for many days, after the Duke
 ‘ had taken Refuge in it, his final Resolution to take
 ‘ him out of it, tho’ he had it in his power to have
 ‘ done it from the moment he went thither ; his
 ‘ Majesty being informed, that the Rights of the
 ‘ Houses of Ambassadors did not extend to the pre-
 ‘ sent Case. This your Excellency is to execute
 ‘ very punctually, for such is the King’s express
 ‘ Will.’

Madrid, May 25.

The Courier, which M. *Stanhope* had dispatch’d
 to his Court on the day that the Duke *de Ripperda*
 was carried away, was stopt by Order of the *Spanish*
 Minister at *Vittoria*, for several days ; so that he did
 not

not arrive at *London* till a considerable time after the Marquis *de Pozobueno* had received his Dispatches, and taken his Measures for pacifying the Court. This however had not the Success hoped for ; his *Britannick* Majesty taking no notice of the Representations of the *Spanish* Minister, till such time as M. *Stanhope's* Dispatches came to hand. On their Arrival, the Marquis *de Pozobueno* received a long Letter from the Duke of *Newcastle*, which we shall presently give our Readers ; from which Letter it appeared, that his *Britannick* Majesty was by no means disposed to pass by the Affront offered to his Minister, without his having done any thing, which could justly give his Catholick Majesty offence.

All this while M. *de Ripperda* passed his time very indifferently in the Castle of *Segovia* ; not that his Confinement was very severe, but that the Violence of his Temper made him incapable of sustaining even the slightest Sufferings. His Conduct in his present Circumstances was such, as could scarce have been suspected from a Man, who had enjoy'd such high Dignities, and seen so much of the World as he had done. He sometimes upbraided the *Spanish* Nation, at other times he cursed the *Spanish* Ministry ; frequently he threw out bitter Execrations against himself, for having prefer'd *Spain* to his native Country. Having thus exhausted his Spirits, and wasted the whole Stock of his Indignation, he began to grow a little cooler, and amuse himself with Projects for settling or embroiling *Europe*, just as he was in the humour ; for exalting this Power, for abasing that ; in short, for turning the World upside down, for which no Man living ever had greater Abilities. It may be indeed said in his excuse, that at this time he was not permitted to correspond with any body, and therefore might be allowed to depart somewhat from his ordinary manner of Behaviour. His Excesses however were grievously

grievously punished, not by any additional Rigours in the manner of his Confinement ; on the contrary this grew less severe by degrees, but by the Representation of his fierce and intractable Spirit, which destroyed him in the King's Opinion. That just and mild Prince did not forget him even in the Castle of *Segovia* ; and it was the utmost Stretch of the ministerial Arts of *Ripperda's* Enemies to infuse into his Majesty's mind, a Notion of the Duke's having lost all Capacity for Business, as well as all Regard for the *Spanish* Nation, or his Majesty's Service. By this means they excluded all Possibility of his Return ; which, in truth, they had reason enough to dread, since he had managed his Affairs so well, as to prevent their having it in their power to convict him of most of the Crimes they had laid to his charge ; which, in case he had returned to Court, might have raised him higher in the King's Favour than ever. No wonder then, that they took care to have an exact Account of the Extravagancies he committed at *Segovia*, that they magnified these excessively ; and that they took care in all publick Papers to make his Majesty express a strong Sense of the Duke *de Ripperda's* Extravagancies and Indiscretions.

On the 13th of *July*, M. *Stanhope* returned to *Madrid* ; and the same day presented the following Paper, which is the last we shall insert in relation to this Affair.

Mr. Stanhope's Memorial to the King of Spain,
July 13, 1726, N.S.

S I R,

THE underwritten Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of his *Britannick* Majesty, having received Orders to communicate to your Majesty the Sentiments of the King his Master,

‘ Master, upon the Duke *de Ripperda*’s taking Re-
 ‘ fuge in his House at *Madrid*, and his being taken
 ‘ from thence by force by virtue of his Majesty’s
 ‘ Orders: And having at the same time received
 ‘ the Copy of a Letter, which the Duke of *New-*
 ‘ *castle*, Minister and Secretary of State, was or-
 ‘ dered to write to M. *de Pozobueno*, your Majesty’s
 ‘ Minister at *London*, exhibiting amply the King’s
 ‘ Sentiments on this Affair: The said Ambassador
 ‘ judges he cannot better acquit himself of this Duty,
 ‘ than by delivering to your Majesty the annexed
 ‘ Copy of the said Letter, as containing literally all
 ‘ that he has been commanded to represent upon the
 ‘ said Transaction; without adding any thing of
 ‘ his own, more than most humbly to beseech your
 ‘ Majesty to be pleased to have regard to the solid
 ‘ and just Reasons therein alledged; promising him-
 ‘ self, from your Majesty’s high Wisdom and Ju-
 ‘ stice, all necessary Reparation of the Violence done
 ‘ to the Immunities of publick Ministers; and to
 ‘ have the Resolution communicated to him, which
 ‘ your Majesty shall judge proper to take in this
 ‘ important Case; that he may be able to give an
 ‘ Account of it to the King his Master. Done at
 ‘ *Madrid* the 13th of July, 1726.

Wm. Stanhope.

To the Marquis DE POZOBUEÑO.

S I R, *Whitehall, June 20, 1726.*

‘ I Presented to the King some time ago, as I
 ‘ have already acquainted your Excellency, the
 ‘ two Extracts of Letters which you did me the
 ‘ honour to deliver to me; one concerning the Re-
 ‘ fuge which the Duke of *Ripperda* had taken in the
 ‘ King’s Ambassador’s House at *Madrid*, and his
 ‘ being forcibly taken from thence by his Catholick
 ‘ Majesty’s Order; the other, which you gave me at
 ‘ the

are in the Service of Princes where they reside,
or who are accused of any Crime against them :
And his Majesty has observed with pleasure, that
his Ambassador never had any such Thought, as
appears evidently by Mr. *Stanhope's* Behaviour
towards the Duke of *Ripperda*, when, at his Re-
turn from his Country Villa, he found him very
unexpectedly in his House, in company with the
Ambassador of *Holland*. His Excellency began
by making the Inquiries necessary for rightly un-
derstanding his Case; as, what Situation he was
in with respect to his Catholick Majesty, and what
Reasons had induced him to seek that Refuge ;
that he might be able to regulate his Conduct ac-
cordingly, and judge whether it were convenient
for him to permit him to remain there.

The first Question that Mr. *Stanhope* asked
him, and which indeed was the most essential one,
was, Whether he had still any Employment under
his Catholick Majesty, or whether he was in any
manner whatsoever in his Service? To which the
Duke answered, he was not; that the Night be-
fore, his said Majesty had at his Request abso-
lutely discharged him and dismissed him from all
his Employments. The second Question his Ex-
cellency put to him, was, Whether he had ground
to believe himself to be in Disgrace, or under the
Displeasure of the King of *Spain*, or to apprehend
that his Catholick Majesty designed to charge him
with any Accusation, or to cause him to be pro-
secuted for any Crime or Misdemeanour commit-
ted in his late Ministry? For neither in the one
or the other Case would he have found any En-
couragement, much less any Protection, from his
Excellency. The Duke having answered, that
quite to the contrary, far from looking on himself
as disgraced, and yet less to be suspected or in
Danger of being accused of any Crime, the King

of *Spain* had had the Goodness to grant him a Pension of 3000 Pistoles a Year, in recompence of his past Services: And perceiving that what he had said had not all the Effect he wished on the Mind of his Excellency, he shewed him an original Letter, of which I subjoin a Copy, wherein the Marquis *de la Paz* signifies to him, in the Name of his Catholick Majesty, that as the Duke himself had desired, his Majesty consented to his laying down his Employments, and did him the Favour to grant him a Pension of 3000 Pistoles a Year, till he should employ him in his future Service, in such manner as to him should seem most convenient. All this not having yet satisfied his Excellency, he would know what Motives he had for coming to ask the Protection of his House; to which the Duke reply'd, That it was not from the least Apprehension of any Violence, on the part of his Catholick Majesty, of whose Favour and great Goodness, he had just received so evident a Mark as the Pension he had granted him; but that he was in fear of his Life, from the inveterate Malice of his Enemies, and the Rage and Fury of the Populace, who had that very day insulted his Domesticks, and declared publickly, that they would come at Night and attack his House, and tear him to pieces.

However, notwithstanding the Marquis *de la Paz's* fore-mention'd Letter was more than sufficient to convince Mr. *Stanhope*, that the Duke of *Ripperda* was neither in the Service of the Catholick King, nor suspected of any Crime; but that on the contrary, his Catholick Majesty had even given him very recent Marks of his Goodness; yet Mr. *Stanhope*, ever careful not to do any thing that might be disageeable to the King of *Spain*, would not promise the said Duke Harbour in his House, without first acquainting his
Catho-

‘ Catholick Majesty with it, and knowing his Sen-
 ‘ timents upon it ; requiring *M. de Ripperda*, in the
 ‘ first place, to send in Writing to the Secretary of
 ‘ State the Motives of his retiring ; and the next
 ‘ day, the 16th of that Month, his Excellency had
 ‘ thereupon an Audience of his Catholick Majesty ;
 ‘ when having given him an exact and sincere Ac-
 ‘ count of what had passed between him and the said
 ‘ Duke, he was fortunate enough to be assured from
 ‘ his Catholick Majesty’s own Mouth, that he was
 ‘ not displeased with his Proceeding, whatever
 ‘ Cause he had to be so with the Duke of *Ripperda*’s
 ‘ in taking Refuge in the House of a foreign Mini-
 ‘ ster : adding, that the said Duke having asked a
 ‘ Passport, that he might retire to *Holland*, he
 ‘ could not grant it him, till he had first delivered
 ‘ up several Papers, of consequence to his Service,
 ‘ which he had in his hands ; and therefore he de-
 ‘ sired Mr. *Stanbope* would engage, not to permit
 ‘ him to escape out of his House, till his Catholick
 ‘ Majesty should cause a List to be drawn of his
 ‘ Papers, and send to get them, which should be
 ‘ done the next day. To which Mr. *Stanbope* con-
 ‘ sented, and gave his word for the safe-keeping of
 ‘ the Person of the Duke of *Ripperda*, which was
 ‘ all the King of *Spain* required of him : And his
 ‘ Catholick Majesty’s Approbation of all that Mr.
 ‘ *Stanbope* had done, cannot be more strongly con-
 ‘ firmed, than by the Letter, of which I subjoin
 ‘ a Copy, that the Marquis *de la Paz* wrote to
 ‘ him that very day, in which he tells him, that
 ‘ the Catholick King had intire Confidence in the
 ‘ Word his Excellency had given him, to keep the
 ‘ said Duke of *Ripperda* in his House, and ac-
 ‘ quaints him that it was resolved, for the greater
 ‘ Security, that some Soldiers should be posted in
 ‘ the Neighbourhood and Avenues of his House ;
 ‘ assuring him at the same time, that in this Pro-

ceeding there was not the least Distrust, on the part of his Majesty with relation to his Excellency, but that it was only for taking the greater Precaution against the Attempts the said Duke might make to escape.

Mr. *Stanhope* having therefore, in consequence of what the Catholick King had done him the honour to say to him in the Audience he had just had of his Majesty, given his word to the Duke of *Ripperda*, that he might remain his House, as long as the said Duke should not attempt to escape out of it, he could not retract that Engagement but by Order from the King his Master, and no other Person in the World had a Right to release him from it: so that none can deny, that after all that had passed on both sides, the making use of Force to take the said Duke out of his Excellency's House, without having previously obtained, or at least asked, the Consent of his *Britannick* Majesty, must be looked upon as an Infraction of the Law of Nations.

Your Excellency will see, that even your Court was of that Opinion, by the Marquis *de la Paz*'s Letters to Mr. *Stanhope*, of the 18th and 21st of the said Month, of which I likewise subjoin Copies; by which it appears, that tho' the Catholick King had begun to entertain Uneasiness at the Duke of *Ripperda*'s Stay in his Excellency's House, yet all his Catholick Majesty required of him, was, to use means of Persuasion to induce him to leave it: And Mr. *Stanhope*, on his part, always ardently disposed to do all that may be agreeable to the King of *Spain*, without prostituting the Glory of the King his Master, and his own Character of Ambassador, by breaking the word he had given in consequence of what his Catholick Majesty had done him the honour to say to him, wrought so effectually with the Duke

of

‘ of *Ripperda*, pursuant to the Intimation he had
 ‘ received from his Catholick Majesty, that he pre-
 ‘ vailed with the said Duke to consent to leave his
 ‘ House, provided he might be permitted to retire
 ‘ to a Convent : And I cannot conceal from your
 ‘ Excellency, how much the King my Master was
 ‘ surprized, that this Proposition was not accepted,
 ‘ not being able to conceive any solid Reason for
 ‘ its being rejected.

‘ But what has much more surprized the King my
 ‘ Master, and renders the Treatment of his Am-
 ‘ bassador yet the more unreasonable, is, that it does
 ‘ not appear, that before Force was used, after all
 ‘ that had passed on both sides, his Ambassador was
 ‘ ever asked in form to deliver up the said Duke,
 ‘ or make him quit his House ; not even after the
 ‘ Resolution taken by the Council of *Castile*, by
 ‘ which he was declared guilty of High Treason ;
 ‘ nor was the said Resolution, or the Contents of
 ‘ it, communicated to him, but at the time when
 ‘ the Officer of Justice, accompanied by a military
 ‘ Officer with 60 Guards, having enter’d his Excel-
 ‘ lency’s House with a Commission to force it, de-
 ‘ livered to him a Letter from the Marquis *de la*
 ‘ *Paz*, in which he signified to him, that he was
 ‘ discharged from the Word he had given ; that
 ‘ they were to take the said Duke out of his House,
 ‘ and seize all the Papers that might be found in his
 ‘ possession, by making strict Search in his Coffers
 ‘ and elsewhere : And this was done on the spot,
 ‘ notwithstanding the Protest of the Ambassador,
 ‘ who desired only that the Execution might be
 ‘ suspended till he had answer’d the Marquis *de la*
 ‘ *Paz*’s Letter, which was refused him.

‘ His Majesty persuades himself, that your Ex-
 ‘ cellency yourself will own, (without deciding
 ‘ whether Mr. *Stanhope* had right or not to give
 ‘ his Protection to *de Ripperda*) that after all
 ‘ that

‘ that had passed between his Catholick Majesty,
 ‘ his Ministers, and the said Mr. *Stanbope*, it was
 ‘ requisite at least, according to all Rules, that be-
 ‘ fore Soldiers were sent to his House, the foresaid
 ‘ Resolution of the Council of *Castile* should have
 ‘ been notified to him in form, and that his Catho-
 ‘ lick Majesty had determined in consequence of
 ‘ that Resolution to take the said Duke out of his
 ‘ House by force, in case he would not deliver him
 ‘ up; and that they should have waited to see what
 ‘ Effect that Notification would have produced ;
 ‘ there being nothing that could have justified in such
 ‘ a case the Violation of the Immunities of an Am-
 ‘ bassador’s House, but the utmost Necessity.

‘ Thus, Sir, having laid before you without any
 ‘ Disguise the Fact in question, in answer to the
 ‘ Extracts of Letters you gave me ; the King my
 ‘ Master hopes, that this Affair being placed in its
 ‘ true Light, his Catholick Majesty will discover
 ‘ so clearly, how much it concerns his own Interest,
 ‘ as being one of the Powers of *Europe* most to be
 ‘ respected, to prevent the Consequences which
 ‘ might be drawn from such an Example, of the
 ‘ Violation of the Immunities of publick Ministers ;
 ‘ that he will be pleased to take upon himself the
 ‘ Care of ordering on this Occasion all necessary
 ‘ Reparation to be made, for preserving the Privi-
 ‘ leges which have ever been annexed to that Cha-
 ‘ racter. This the King my Master expects from
 ‘ the Wisdom and Justice of his Catholick Majesty,
 ‘ and that he will thereby enable him the better to act
 ‘ answerably on his part, to the Assurances of a sin-
 ‘ cere and inviolable Friendship, which you have
 ‘ given on his Catholick Majesty’s part, in pursuance
 ‘ of the Orders contained in the foresaid Extracts.
I am, with the most perfect Regard, Sir, Your Ex-
cellency’s most humble and most obedient Servant,

Holles Newcastle.

While

While the *Spanish* Court was embarrassed with that of *Great Britain* about the Insult offered to Mr. *Stanhope*, there sprung up a new Difference between the Marquis *de la Paz*, and the *Dutch* Minister M. *Vandermeer*. The former had delivered a *Factum*, or *Case*, in relation to the Affair of the Duke *de Ripperda* to all the foreign Ministers, in which he thought fit to say, that the *Dutch* Minister had carried M. *de Ripperda* to the House of the *English* Ambassador *by stealth*, which Expression grievously offended M. *Vandermeer*. He said, that if the Marquis *de la Paz* had a mind to censure his Manner of Acting, as if it had been done without a proper Authority from his Masters, or even in an indecent manner, he might have made use of some softer Expression; nay, he might have suggested all that he suggested now, by the word *Clandestine*, if he had so thought fit, whereas the Epithet made use of in the *Factum*, was low, gross, altogether unministerial, and no way suited to the Dignity of the Persons mentioned therein. All this, and much more he digested in a Memorial, which he presented to the *Spanish* Court, at the same time that he transmitted the *Factum* of which he complained to his Masters the States-General, who seemed to have been calmer in their Dispositions, since after this, we heard no more of that Affront, with which M. *Vandermeer* was so stung. Indeed the Differences between the Courts of *Great Britain* and *Spain* growing wider and wider every day, and the latter proceeding at last to actual Hostilities, particularly the Siege of *Gibraltar*, the Affair of M. *de Ripperda* was by degrees swallowed up and forgotten. Tho' it must be acknowledg'd, that the *British* Court never departed from its Demands of Reparation on his account; tho' it must likewise be confessed, that it never received any Reparation, the Council of

Castile from time to time inventing Excuses, Delays and Evasions, wherein lies chiefly the boasted Policy of the *Spanish* Court: That Policy which has always laid them open to their Neighbours the *French*, tho' by it they have got the better of some more believing and less vigorous Nations.

The *Duchess de Ripperda* and her Son were for some time inconsolable for the Loss of the Duke, and the Consideration of the uneasy Situation he was in. When they had once obtained leave to visit him, they were continually going to *Segovia*, and they took all imaginable pains to quiet his Apprehensions, and to ingage his Belief, that neither his Imprisonment, nor his Disgrace, would be perpetual. In the mean time the *Duchess* retired with her Family from their Palace to a private House, where she lived in great Decency, and with much Credit, visited by Persons of the first Distinction, and by such of the Clergy as were in highest Reputation for their Piety. These concurring in their Representations to her on the Subject of the Duke, that he was the sole Author of his own Misfortunes and of hers, that his Indiscretions had been but slightly punished, and that there was but very little Reason to believe, that even this Punishment would bring him to a just Sense of his Follies: She by degrees came into their way of thinking, went less frequently to the Castle of *Segovia*; and at length was contented to be the admired and belov'd *Duchess of Ripperda* at *Madrid*, without remembering that there was any Connection between her and the hated Duke *de Ripperda*, who was fallen a Victim to the Suggestions of his Enemies, and remained a dreadful Example of the Instability of human Fortune. Notwithstanding this, the *Duchess* retained an excellent Character, her extraordinary Oeconomy, her great Piety, her extensive Charity, and her profound Obedience to her ghostly Directors, secured

secured to her an universal Applause, while her Husband was never mentioned without Curfes, tho' nothing flagrant had been proved, nor to speak truth ever could be proved against him.

As we are for a long time to consider the Duke *de Ripperda* in the light of a Prisoner of State, it may not be amiss to describe the Place of his Confinement. *Segovia* is a very considerable City in *Old Castile*, twenty-seven *English* Miles from the *Escorial*, thirty-three from *Madrid*, and sixty from *Toledo*. It is built upon a Hill, the little River of *Atayada* running at the foot of it; and a little after it has passed by the place, falling with several other lesser Streams into the *Douro*. The Territory round it, is equally fertile and pleasant, affording the finest Pastures that can be seen, wherein feed innumerable Flocks of Sheep, producing the finest Wool in the Universe. The City is chiefly inhabited by Manufacturers, and is by very far the richest and best built in all *Spain*. It contains (that is, taking the upper and lower City together) 8000 Houses at least, and between sixty and seventy thousand Persons; amongst which there is not one Beggar. Its Cathedral is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and is one of the finest in *Spain*. The Bishop is Suffragan to the Archbishop of *Toledo*; but we may safely say of his Revenue, that it is Archiepiscopal itself, amounting to five thousand Pounds *per Annum* at least. There are here three great Manufactures; the first is the Woollen, divided into the old and the new. The old consists in those fine *Spanish* Cloths, which bear the Name of this City, and are every where in esteem. The new are those set up by *M. de Ripperda*, consisting in coarser Cloth and lighter Stuffs. The second is the making of Paper, which is no less beneficial, employing a multitude of Hands, and answering with Profit the vast Expence with which it is carried on. The

The third thing here is the *Casa de la Moneda*, that is, the Money-House, or *Mint*, which is beyond comparison the finest in *Europe*. It is a handsome spacious Building, with four strong Towers of Stone cover'd with Lead. The Engines made use of in Coining, are all moved by Wheels, which are wrought by the River, which is the reason that the Money struck here, is more beautiful than that coined at *Seville*, and done so expeditiously, that this Mint might certainly suffice for half the Coinage of the Continent, if it were fully employ'd.

The Castle-Royal, or *Alcazar*, as the *Spaniards* call it, was built by the *Moors* on a Rock, overlooking the City, from whence they ascend to it by Stairs, cut in the Rock. It is also defended by four square Towers, which are old, and a little decay'd. Within it is very magnificent, and, which is very rare in *Spain*, the Apartments are very richly furnished, even when the King does not reside there. The great Hall in this Palace is called the *Hall of Kings*, because therein we see the Statues of all the Kings of *Spain*, from *Pelagius* down to Queen *Joan*, the Mother of *Charles V.* and *Ferdinand*, Emperors. They are placed on Thrones, richly gilt, and make a wonderful fine Appearance. But the most remarkable thing about *Segovia* is yet unmentioned. It is an Aquæduct, built by the *Romans*; the Length thereof is three thousand Yards compleat; it passes from one Mountain to the other, on a hundred seventy-eight Arches, so constructed, as to form a double Bridge. What is truly admirable in this stupendious Work, is the Art by which the Stones wherewith it is erected are apply'd to each other. For in the whole Structure, there is neither Brick-work, Mortar, nor Soldering; which is the reason that it never was, nor in all probability ever will be out of Repair. Such was the Place of the Duke's Confinement; and as he had liberty to send for what

what he pleased from the City, he might have made it very tolerable, if he had so pleased, I mean from the Beginning. For as we shall see, he did not continue there long before his Impatience wore pretty well off.

The Keeper of the Prison not only took care to provide the Duke a very handsome Apartment of his own, but also allow'd him to make what use he pleased of his. His favourite *French* Valet de Chambre, who had followed him in all his various Scenes of Life, stuck close by him in his Misfortunes, and chose rather to be in Prison with his Master, than to enjoy Liberty out of his Service. There was also about the Prison another *Frenchman*, who was Servant to the Governour, and to whom they had given the Nick-name of *Lorenzo*, an honest merry Fellow, belov'd by every body, and so facetious, that the Duke was extremely delighted with him. He it was, who first got the better of his Melancholy, by telling him, that a Man could be but in one Place at once, and that provided he could make himself happy and easy in the Place where he was, others might think it so, but to him it could be no longer a Prison. For example, said *Lorenzo*, *Your poor Devils in Prison have not a bit to eat, nor so much as a single REAL of Plate in all the World; whereas we have here good Fowl, fine Hams, excellent Sweetmeats, and a Purse of Pistoles, the Noise of which is very refreshing. In a word, my Lord Duke, said he, this Liberty is not half so valuable a thing as you fancy it is. If the Governour should say, Lorenzo, You are this Moment at your liberty. Why, I should immediately say to myself, so much the worse, that means no more than that I am at liberty to steal and be hang'd, or to let it alone and be starved; a blessed Exchange this, for an easy Service.*

When

When the Duke was in his very gloomy Fits, *Lorenzo* would come and mimick him, upon which the Duke's Valet de Chambre pretended to beat him. At last, *M. de Ripperda* would say, Go! go! be gone, I would think a little. *Lorenzo* presently took hold of this: "Your Excellency, says
 "the Wag, is in a Dream, and we must waken
 "you a little; all the Thinking in the World will
 "do you no good, laugh a little, laugh, my Lord,
 "at them that sent you here. They are in Prison,
 "believe me; nay, a right Courtier is everlastingly
 "in the Stocks. You have twenty times the Ad-
 "vantage of them. If you will but open your
 "Eyes, you may see that you are free; but if they
 "open their Eyes, they must see that they are
 "Prisoners and Slaves; downright Slaves, my
 "Lord; they dare not speak so freely as *Lorenzo*
 "for their Ears, and then your plaguy Councils
 "are held at Noon, so that a Man's Guts mutiny
 "within him all the while that he sits in *Querpo*,
 "and is treated with a hundred fine Titles, which
 "go but a little way in filling an empty Stomach.
 "Whereas you, my Lord, may rise when you
 "will, and go to bed when you will; say what
 "you will, and do what you will, eat if you please,
 "and let it alone if you please, may be in humour
 "if you think fit, or out of humour if it were not
 "for *Lorenzo*. Is this being in Prison? No, my
 "Lord, you were a Prisoner at *Madrid*, and they
 "set you at liberty who sent you to *Segovia*." By degrees the Duke *de Ripperda* relished this Discourse, and grew every day more tractable. However, he would sometimes lament his Misfortunes, very passionately often repeating this Maxim; An innocent Man has a Right to his Freedom, and he who hath a Right to any thing, hath a Right to imploy any means to come at it. He never said this before any body but his own Seryant and *Lo-*
renzo,

renzo, who was become a kind of Confident, and who never betrayed the Trust that was reposed in him. The two *Frenchmen* would often reason together upon this Expression of the Duke's, but it was a long time before they came at its Meaning; tho' one would think, there was nothing in it very ambiguous, yet in all probability these wise Folks had never come at the Kernel, if the Nut had not been crackt by accident.

One day *Lorenzo* was making the Duke's Coffee, when M. *Ripperda*, who had been long silent, said to himself, *The King could not be displeased if I got from hence!* Say you so, quoth *Lorenzo*? "Then
 "I understand what you have been harping upon
 "for this Fortnight. Well, if it were come to
 "that, I would venture my Life to do you a Service. But, Sir, will you give me leave to speak
 "my mind? Yes, *Lorenzo*, said the Duke, and
 "will be thankful for it. Why then, my Lord,
 "said *Lorenzo*, let your Enemies fly, they are
 "guilty, and Flight may do them a Service; but
 "Innocence ought never to stir. I would rather
 "be racked, than lose the Reputation of being
 "honest, by running away from the Rack, though
 "I knew I did not deserve it. There was a thing
 "happened at *Paris* when I was there, that fixed
 "me in this Notion. I will tell it your Excellency,
 "it will divert the time, and may some way or
 "other be of use. Why, said the Duke, *Lorenzo*,
 "you talk like a Philosopher. An Ounce of
 "Mother-Wit, returned he, is worth a Pound of
 "Learning, my Lord. I am a poor Fellow, and
 "can read no Language but *French*, yet I am honest, and have Sense enough to know that it is
 "my Interest. Buffoonry is the Fashion; I took
 "it up to please the Duke de *Vendome*, who, at
 "his Death, recommended me to the Governour
 "of *Segovia*; and if I amuse your Excellency by
 "playing

“ playing the Fool, you may depend upon it, I
“ will never perplex you by playing the Knave at
“ your expence. I believe it, said the Duke,
“ come let us have your Story.”

“ Your Excellency might have heard, conti-
“ nued he, that about the middle of the Reign of
“ *Lewis XIV.* there were discovered at *Paris* a Set
“ of Ladies, who were engaged together in the
“ Practice of the Kindred Arts of Fortune-telling
“ and Poisoning. Amongst these the most cele-
“ brated was *Madam Voisin*. I am not really able
“ to give you an account of her Family or Educa-
“ tion, all I know of her is this, that she gave
“ herself out to be extremely intimate with the
“ Devil, and boasted of his allowing her two or
“ three of his Valets to attend her, when, where,
“ and how she thought fit. She was also extremely
“ well versed in the Art of making Charms, Phil-
“ ters, Love-Powders, and abundance of such-like
“ pretty things, which drew to her a vast Resort
“ of Maids and Widows. As for married Ladies,
“ they went for another Reason. *La Voisin* could
“ foretel to a nicety, when a troublesome Husband
“ would take a Journey to the other World ; and
“ if his Wife was very impatient, she knew how
“ to make him set out a Month or two sooner than
“ he would otherwise have done. Marvellous Se-
“ crets these, said the Duke, but I have heard
“ much of them before ; I think this Lady flou-
“ rished in the time that a Marshal of *France* was
“ charged with no Dislike of these Arts. True,
“ my Lord, returned *Lorenzo*, but my Story re-
“ lates not to so great a Person ; what I shall tell
“ you is true to my own knowledge, and though
“ the Man of whom I speak was no better than a
“ common Musician, yet, as a Man, I conceive
“ your Excellency will not believe yourself in-
“ jured,

“jured, by having him proposed to you as an
“Example.

“His Name was *Philibert*, he was the Colleague
“of the famous *des Cotteaux*; they both belonged
“to the Opera, and the King was so well pleased
“with their Performances, that he frequently
“spoke to them, especially to *Philibert*, who was
“a Man of Sense and good Breeding. This Man
“growing weary of a single Life, and very desi-
“rous of fixing himself in *Paris*, made choice of
“a young Woman, who was the Daughter of one
“M. *de Brunette*, a very rich Tradesman, and a
“Man of a very fair Character. The Girl was
“about fourteen, little of her Age, and tho’ very
“handsome, yet not near so sprightly as most of
“my Country-women are. This was the more
“wonderful, considering that her Father was a very
“quick Man, and her Mother a Gentlewoman of
“a brisk airy Disposition, and in the Flower of
“her Age, when she brought this Daughter. M.
“*Brunette* used to meet *Philibert* in an Evening,
“when they generally sup’t together, talk’d over
“their Affairs, and then diverted themselves with
“a Bottle, a Tune, and a Song. The honest
“Shopkeeper was so taken with his future Son-in-
“Law, that he staid out later than ordinary, and
“when he came home was generally half tipsy.
“Madam *Brunette* asserted the Prerogative of the
“Sex, by questioning him very strictly on the
“head of his new Acquaintance. The good Man
“frankly told her the Truth, and so magnified the
“excellent Qualities of the future Husband of their
“Daughter, that by degrees the Wife, who knew
“very well there was no Love in the Case, and
“that *Philibert* only wanted a Settlement, began
“to think she could do his business better than her
“Daughter.

“Having

“ Having once got this notion in her head, a-
“ way she went to Madam *Voisin*, told her the State
“ of her Case, and received the usual Consolation,
“ that is to say, a Pacquet of Pills, which sent M.
“ *Brunette* where his Wife was willing he should
“ go. This sudden Change in the Family, put a
“ full stop to the Marriage. After the Husband
“ was buried, and things were a little in order,
“ *Philibert* renewed his Suit. He was given to
“ understand, that Women were less fond than their
“ Husbands of marrying their Daughters; that
“ when there are two single Persons in a House,
“ the eldest ought to be married first; yet that,
“ after all, it would depend upon himself, whether
“ he should, or should not be disappointed. *Phi-*
“ *libert* was not so dull, as to miss comprehending
“ the Meaning of these sort of Discourses, and
“ therefore determining to sail with the Wind, he
“ suddenly tack’d about, and from addressing Miss,
“ fell to adoring Mrs. *Brunette*. The Courtship,
“ you may be sure, was short, as it was violent,
“ the fair Lady was more in a hurry than he, the
“ Contract was quickly drawn, a very considerable
“ Sum went to the Spouse in Election, and pretty
“ Miss was sent to a Convent, to lament her Ill-
“ luck in losing such a Father, and in keeping such
“ a Mother. From the day of their Marriage, *Phili-*
“ *bert* and his Lady were the fondest Couple in *Pa-*
“ *ris*; he found her good-humour’d, witty, and
“ most obsequiously devoted to his Service in what-
“ ever he required. Money he had in plenty, a com-
“ modious House, a full Table, and as many Friends
“ at it, as he thought fit to invite; he look’d upon
“ himself to be compleatly happy; and all who
“ knew him thought he was so too. He applauded
“ his own Wisdom in the Conduct of this Affair,
“ and believed that there was nothing could fall
“ out, which might subvert, or even so much as
“ - “ trouble

“ trouble his Happiness. But as they say in this
 “ Country, *the Fortunate are naturally Fools*; so
 “ the Course of a few Months taught our Musician,
 “ that human Life is an Instrument that cannot be
 “ long-kept in tune. Thus, my Lord, happened
 “ the thing :

“ Madam *Voisin* was so unfortunate as to have
 “ the Source of all her Riches, and all her In-
 “ terests discovered, on which she was presently
 “ arrested, her Process made, and on very full
 “ Proofs she was sentenced to be burnt alive. It is
 “ said, that from the moment she was in Prison,
 “ she abandon’d all hopes of Life, and Thoughts
 “ of this World, employ’d her time in Prayers
 “ and Repentance, and gave such visible Testi-
 “ monies of unfeigned Penitence, as procured her,
 “ tho’ so flagrant an Offender, the Pity of all
 “ who beheld her in this distressed Condition.
 “ Before she suffered, she delivered up to her
 “ Judges a Book, containing an Account of all
 “ who had consulted her during the Course of her
 “ Business, and of the Services she had done them.
 “ This Book, like *Pandora’s Box*, was no sooner
 “ opened, than Plagues and Mischiefs flew about
 “ all *Paris*. The Jails were filled with Ladies
 “ of all sorts and sizes; and amongst the rest,
 “ poor *Philibert* lost his Wife. Her Case hap-
 “ pened to be so very plain, that she was adjudged
 “ to be hang’d, almost as soon as she was taken.
 “ She could not avoid confessing, and suffered
 “ Death with a great Mixture of Confusion and
 “ Concern.

“ The Circumstances of this Business threw some
 “ Suspicions upon *Philibert*; and as the World is
 “ very seldom slow in censuring, so it began to be
 “ presently whisper’d through the City, that the
 “ Musician’s Hand was set to M. *Brunette’s* Pass-
 “ port; and that he would be quickly questioned

M

“ upon

“ upon this head. The King himself was so kind,
“ as to hint to the Musician the Expediency of his
“ going out of the way. He said, his Kindness
“ for him could extend no further ; so that in case
“ he neglected this Caution, and positive Proof
“ should appear against him, he must have no
“ hopes of Mercy. *Philibert* thank'd his Majesty,
“ and told him, that he had such a Confidence
“ in his Justice, that he stood in no fear of need-
“ ing his Mercy. All the rest of his Friends were
“ of quite another Opinion ; and amongst the rest
“ his Partner *des Cotteaux* : He went to his House
“ one Morning early, and address'd him thus :
“ I am afraid, *Philibert*, that the Fear of starving
“ makes you think hanging a more eligible Death.
“ You know, that together we can get our Bread
“ in any Part of the Earth ; be advis'd then, con-
“ sult your Safety by a speedy Flight, I am ready
“ to forsake my Family, Friends, Country, and
“ the King's Favour, to go with you where you
“ please, to serve you, and succour you, so far as
“ is in my power. *Philibert*, with Tears in his
“ Eyes, embraced and thanked him, but declined
“ taking his Advice. He said, he was innocent,
“ and that the Laws instead of injuring, would
“ certainly do him justice, and put an end to the
“ Calumnies of those, who think to hide their
“ own Vices by declaiming against the Crimes of
“ others. Next Morning he was arrested and con-
“ ducted to Prison, but set at liberty again the
“ same Week, his Judges declaring, there was not
“ the least Foundation for the Reports which had
“ been spread concerning him. The King, the
“ first time he saw him, complimented him on
“ his Innocence, and on his Courage, and at his
“ Request presented what *Madam Brunette* had
“ forfeited to her Daughter. Thus, my Lord,
“ I have shewn you that running away from Dan-
“ ger

“ger is not always the way to get rid of it; and
 “that it better becomes a Man of Honour, to
 “attend the Decision of his Cause by Providence,
 “than to attempt to decide it himself. Your Ex-
 “cellency will forgive me, if you discern any
 “thing amiss in what I have said, and will have
 “the Goodness to ascribe to my Sincerity the Blunt-
 “ness with which I have presented these Facts to
 “your View.

“I protest, *Lorenzo*, said the Duke, you are a
 “perfect Orator, I fancy you have had a better
 “Education than you are willing to acknowledge;
 “prithee tell me, who was the Master that taught
 “you all this Eloquence? It would be needless as
 “well as tedious, returned *Lorenzo*, to trouble
 “your Excellency with the Names of all the ho-
 “nourable Persons, from whom I have from time
 “to time gathered Instructions; it is enough, that
 “I tell you that the last Master I had, was the
 “Duke *de Ripperda*, and that it is no wonder,
 “that he gave so poor a Fellow as I a Notion of
 “speaking pertinently, who left the Grandees of
 “*Spain* so little to say, that they were forced to
 “send him to *Segovia*, to avoid giving him an
 “Answer.” The Address, the Diligence, and the
 pleasant Stories which poor *Lorenzo* had always at
 his finger’s ends, and knew as well as any Man to
 apply, served to assuage the Duke’s Melancholy,
 and even to persuade him, that Imprisonment was
 not so unbearable a thing as at first it seemed to be.
 Yet the Duke did not enjoy this Comfort long, the
 Governour of *Segovia* entertained some Persons of
 Distinction in the Castle, and *Lorenzo* having eaten
 too freely of the Fruit and iced Liquors, which were
 served at this Repast, fell in the Evening into a Fit
 of the Cholick, which, almost as soon as it seemed
 to threaten, deprived him of Life. The Duke *de*
Ripperda, who had not seen him for two days, was

much surprized on the third, when, upon his inquiring for his old Jester, he was informed that he was dead, and on the point of being buried. The Duke express'd a good deal of Tenderneſs upon this Occaſion, he ſent his Servant to attend at his Funeral, paid ſome little Debts that he owed, and made a very handsome Preſent to a Woman, who was much in *Lorenzo's* good Graces.

The Duke's Affairs were by this time in a very indifferent Condition, the Council of *Caſtile* perſuaded the King to give the *Engliſh* Miniſter only ſoft and general Answers on the head of the Satisfaction demanded for the taking away the Duke *de Ripperda* by force. That Council however did not pretend to make out their Charge againſt the Duke, tho' they named Commiſſioners to receive Informations againſt him, for which the Politicians assign'd many Reaſons. Some would have it, that this Delay proceeded entirely from the King's Clemency; who, they ſaid, retained, notwithstanding all that was paſt, a great Tenderneſs for his favourite Miniſter. Others fancied, that the Council were afraid of divulging important Secrets of State, even to Commiſſioners of their own appointing. There were not a few who believed the Queen had interpoſed. The moſt knowing Politicians in *Madrid* refined ſo far on this Buſineſs, as to ſay, that the Miniſtry were the dead Weight of this Proſecution; for tho' they hated the Duke heartily, yet they were afraid of ſuch a Precedent. But I preſume to ſay, that the true Cauſe was plainly this, there were no Proofs. The Delay therefore ſerved to keep the Man in Priſon, tired the Patience of his Friends, gave his Enemies time to ſtrengthen their Party, and bid fair to break *M. de Ripperda's* Heart. That was certainly the Reaſon, and was ſo underſtood to be by the foreign Miniſters, who, of all others, judge the beſt of the *Spaniſh* Policy. Yet to ſay truth,
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we call it improperly *Spanish* Policy, since it is the general Policy of Courts. Power begets Envy, Envy undermines Power, and those Mines frequently serve to blow up those who carry their Point by them. Thus there is a Succession of Insolence, Malice and Treachery, and the conducting of these is most preposterously called Policy; while true Policy, which is the Art of Governing, the Science of preserving the People, is quite neglected. It may indeed be talked of sometimes to serve a purpose, but when that purpose is served, it ceases to be so much as talked of. Who that considers this, can be any longer in love with Courts? Who, after weighing the Inconveniencies of both, would not agree with *Lorenzo*, that the Duke *de Ripperda* had reason to think himself prefer'd, when he was sent to the Castle of *Segovia*?

It hath been observed, that except the want of Liberty our Statesman suffered little in his Confinement. His Valet went twice a Week to *Madrid*, without being interrupted or searched; so that the Duke received frequent Advices from his Friends, and had also various Opportunities of writing to them. The Jailor, or Underkeeper of the Castle, was a Man of Sense and Humanity, but a little more careful of his Wife than the Duke could have wished. She was a very handsome Woman in her Person, was extremely tender and compassionate, and wanted not for good Sense, or a quick Turn of Wit. She visited the Duke sometimes, and the Duke visited her often, but not with that Secrecy and Familiarity which he inclined to do; for an idle and sedentary Life made strong Impressions on the Duke's Temper, which was naturally amorous; and in all probability, his Liking to this Woman, would have produced some Disaster, if, by chance, his Inclinations had not shortly after been turned another way. The Keeper was

better furnished with Books than the Duke expected, and which was more, he had read many that he had not, had digested the Matter contained in them; and when the Duke was so pleased, helped to take off a part of that Tedioufness which would otherwise have lengthen'd his Evenings. This the Duke often mentioned in *England*, as one of the greatest Comforts he met with in his Imprisonment; for, as he was naturally curious, as well as a Person of great Reading and Application, he knew how to make the most of every Man with whom he conversed; and this *Spaniard* was so thoroughly versed in all things relating to the Transactions from the Death of King *Charles II.* that the Duke was not only diverted, but improved by his Company. Infomuch that there is room to believe, some of his future Projects took birth from these Conversations.

The Temper of our Statesman was such, that he could never forbear thinking, that is, thinking of Matters of State; and he had acquir'd such a Habit of Business, that he was forced to pursue the Projects started by his Imagination, merely to prevent a Disturbance in his Head. In the Castle of *Segovia* therefore he meditated an Infinity of Schemes, for re-acquiring that Greatness from which he was fallen, and for effectually punishing his Enemies, which was a Point that never escaped his Thoughts. Some of these Projects he had the honour to present to several *European* Powers, but they were all so sanguine, that no Prince, or State, could be brought to think they were either safe or honourable. He drew up also an Apology for his own Conduct in *Spain*, wherein he so handsomely excused himself, that had it ever come to the Eyes of the King, he would in all probability have thought him innocent. But the most entertaining Part of the Piece was the Characters of his Enemies, which were written with such fire, and yet in such strong
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and natural Colours, that it was hard to say, which deserved to be admir'd most, the Poignancy of his Malice, or the Elegancy of his Genius, which enabled him to perform all this, in so happy a way, that no body could peruse the Piece without feeling somewhat of those Impressions which it was written to impart. His Letters to his Friends were at times very warm and distorted ; but when he was in a better humour, were conceived in such terms as make them still considered as some of the most delicate Pieces the present Age hath produced. Happy for the Duke, if these Amusements had wholly imployed his Thoughts ! But alas ! such was the Frailty of his Heart, that he erred by choice, and went right by necessity.

The Keeper's Wife, as she was herself a Woman of Wit and Spirit, good temper'd, and very desirous of making our Statesman as easy as the nature of things would permit, so she took care when the Duke came to divert himself with her in an Afternoon, to invite such Persons as she thought, by their Conversations, might contribute to please and divert him. Among these, there was a young Lady, about the Age of eighteen, whose House was near the Castle, and whose Charms exceeded the rest. She was not indeed so handsome as the Keeper's Wife, nor had she that sparkling Vivacity of Wit which recommended the other to the Duke ; but then she was younger, had much more Flexibility in her Nature, and with an amorous Disposition had a Constancy in her Temper rarely to be met with. There was in her Aspect something so sweetly agreeable, and in her Behaviour such an unaffected Obligingness, as render'd Indifference impracticable wherever she appeared. When she spoke, her Language had at once a peculiar Softness, and a particular Propriety. Her Sense was of a size suited to her Sex. She thought justly, but

did not assume any sort of Pride from her Capacity of thinking. She listened to others with Attention, and yet never made use of any Phrases of Command in her own Discourse. In a word, she had all the Talents, which would have justified the most profound Obedience in a Lover, and yet such was the Sweetness of her Disposition, that she thought profound Obedience becoming only in her self. This is not a Picture drawn from an Idea existing only in the Imagination, but the true and just Character of the fair *Castilian*, which is the Name she has always worn in the Pieces which have been published relating to her Affair with the Duke *de Ripperda*. It is really drawn after the Life, of which the Reader will be convinced, before he has done with these Memoirs. Without question, much of what we are obliged to say of this Lady, will look a little romantick; but the romantick Parts of a true History ought no more to prejudice the Credit of it in the Opinion of the World, than that Air of Truth which is given to Romances, ought to establish their Contents in the Opinion of judicious Persons. Likely things may be false, and unlikely true; it is ridiculous to regulate Facts by Reason, till it can be proved, that Men regulate their Lives by it. The Certainty we have that Men do not always what they ought, should instruct us, that when they are represented doing wrong things, they are then drawn in their right Colours. These Reflections, it is hoped, will not be thought impertinent, because they not only rise from, but are absolutely necessary to the elucidating this Story, in which we will now proceed.

The Duke *de Ripperda* no sooner saw the fair *Castilian*, than he found himself equally struck by her Beauty and her Behaviour; he past the Afternoon insensibly, and saw with Concern, that the Hour was come which of necessity was to part them.

them. When she was retired, the Duke began to revolve in his Mind his own Affairs, the State of things in *Europe*, and the Projects he had form'd about them. But alas! his intellectual Powers were so much out of order, that he found it impracticable for him to pay a proper Attention even to his own Thoughts. The Image of the fair *Castilian*, like a Colossus, took up the whole Extent of his Mind, and left room for no meaner Considerations. The Duke, whose religious Notions by this time hung but loose about him, was so far from shaking off, that he indulged these Sentiments: He thought that in the Condition he was in, deprived of Dignity, thrust into a Prison, and almost as far removed from Hope as from Honour, he might be indulg'd a little in giving way to his amorous Inclinations, and in devoting to pleasure those Hours which could not be more properly employed. Having thus stifled in his Breast all Motions of Reason, and all the troublesome Reflections of Conscience, he gave a loose to his new Passion, and employed all his Thoughts in contriving how to gratify it. Thus the Hours were spent till towards Morning, when the Appearance of the Light surprized him as much as the sudden Return of Darkness had the Night before. He endeavoured to compose himself to Rest, that he might be the more able to execute the Business of the ensuing Day. But he had scarce shut his Eyes, before he was awaked by a cruel Serfation of a Fit of the Gout, which might be very probably hastened by the Agitation his Spirits had been in. However it was, he was forced to call up his Servant, to send for whatever could be thought of to ease him; and after all, past the Morning very disagreeably in his armed Chair, with his Legs extended on a couple of Stools. A seasonable Remedy, my Readers may possibly think, for his new-kindled Passion; but those who have felt it affirm,

affirm, that even the Pains of the Gout cannot either extirpate, or swallow up those of Love.

It was the Doctrine of the old Physicians, and it is still the received Opinion among the Vulgar, that there is in the Eyes of Mortals a certain fascinating Power, by which they operate both on the Bodies and the Minds of others. Those who have been conversant in Amours, will not think this Doctrine so ridiculous as it will appear in the Eyes of others, because they must be convinced, that in such tender Affairs, Looks operate more than Words. Our *Castilian* was an Instance of this; she was by no means insensible of the Respect paid her by the Duke, while she was with him; but when she was alone, her Sensibility strongly increased. She ran over in her Thoughts whatever he had done or said, and upon this running over, she thought she discovered an extraordinary Tenderness for herself in the Expressions he made use of, and in the unusual Civilities he paid her. At first, this Discovery pleased her. For Pride is the chief, and most natural of Female Vices. Yet, when she had reflected a little on the great difference in their Ages, Temper, and Stations, and especially when she remembered he was a married Man, and that the Duchess of *Ripperda* was one of the most esteemed Ladies in *Madrid*, she altered her Sentiments, and began to be very uneasy at that prophetic Prospect, which her too sagacious Understanding presented to her View. Full of these honourable Notions, she resolved to stifle in its Infancy a Passion, which she knew to be dishonourable, and which she had therefore just reason to fear would prove equally ignominious and unhappy. Thoughts, like these, having wearied the Faculties of her Mind, she fell into a deep Sleep, out of which she did not awake till it was pretty late in the Morning. She dressed herself, dined, and before the usual Hour of going abroad
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in the Afternoon, felt an uneasy Propensity to go to the Castle.

In spight of all the Resolutions she had made, her Humour compell'd her to go into the way of Danger. The Duke of *Rockfoucault* observes, with great truth, that a Woman's first Love is lasting, if she meets not with a second; and we must conclude, that whatever is lasting with the Ladies, must have a very extraordinary Degree of Force. To wonder therefore at the fair *Castilian's* Conduct, would argue as much Weakness in us, as in her. Folly in the present Instance got the better of her Reason; hereafter, however, we shall see that Reason in her turn, came in to assist and regulate her Folly; so frail a thing is human Understanding, and so much more frail human Virtue. No sooner had our Fair-One entered the Apartment of her Friend, but she inquir'd after the Duke of *Ripperda*, and being inform'd that he suffer'd under the Attacks of the Gout, she had well nigh fainted. Happy for her that there was no other Witness of her Failing, but the Keeper's Wife, who was too wise not to discern the Cause, and too much a Woman not to encourage it. Alas! my Friend, said she, how strange it is, that the very hearing of the Duke's being ill of the Gout, should give you such a Fit of the Vapours? Well! I see there is a strong Mixture of Pity in the Composition of our Sex. His Excellency is too polite a Person to suffer a Declension in his Fortunes, a Divorce from his Family, and Confinement of Person, without moving the Compassion of every Person who sees him. The fair *Castilian*, if it had been possible, would have recovered her Mistake, and thrown her sudden Malady upon some other Cause. But her Endeavours were vain; she had to do with a Woman more knowing and better experienc'd than herself, and therefore, after a few unsuccessful Attempts, she

she was glad to ask, Whether the Duke's Indisposition was so great as to hinder his seeing Company? I can't tell that, answer'd her Friend, the Duke has been very bad to be sure, he is at present somewhat better; but how he will relish a Visit from a young Lady, who one minute swoons at the News of his Illness, the next forswears her having any Regard for him, and before one has time to believe her, desires to see him sick as he is; how he will relish this, I say, I cannot tell. But if you please, I will go and make a faithful Report, and will bring you his Answer exactly. The *Castilian* did not oppose her going to the Duke's Apartment, but intreated her not to say any thing of what had happened. Mighty well! return'd the Keeper's Wife, but how shall I be able to satisfy you, that I have said nothing? Come! the best way will be for us to go together; this will at once prevent my Husband's Jealousies, and your Suspicions.

When the Ladies enter'd the Duke's Apartment, he was writing on a little Desk fixed to his Chair. The Sight of them banished all Ideas of Business, and so effectually stifled all Sense of Pain, that he could not help starting almost upright, which serv'd to convince him, that tho' Love always gives Spirits, it does not always give Force. He was therefore constrained to resume his former Posture, nor could he do that, but by the Assistance of his kind Friends. When they were seated, and had enter'd into Conversation a little, the Keeper's Wife left them together. Our Statesman, who waited such an Opportunity, did not let it slip unimproved. It cannot be supposed, that we are particularly informed of all that pass'd in this Conversation, and we are by no means inclined to supply even probable Matter on this head. We have sufficient Authority for what we have already advanced, and for a great deal more, if we had been inclined to insert it;

it ; but as we should have waved any thing of this sort altogether, had it not been so intimately united with the *Duke de Ripperda's* political Concerns, that there was really no dividing them ; so we chuse to dwell no longer upon the amorous History of our Hero, than is absolutely necessary for the Reader's Information, with regard to the subsequent Part of these Memoirs. If what we have already written, be not in the usual Style of History, we hope, that too will be excused. For sure nothing can be more unnatural, than to speak in the same solemn Strain of a Man's Wisdom and of his Weakness, and to set in the same light his Errors and his Exploits. It is true, that many Memoir-Writers do this ; but then they are certainly struck with the Vanity of representing him, of whom they speak, in the light of a very perfect Person, that the greater Honour may result to themselves. But those, who cannot make fine Pictures, pique themselves upon making true ones, and endeavour to supply in Likeness, what they want in Beauty. This is exactly our case, we do not draw the *Duke de Ripperda*, because we admire him, but because he made himself admired to the World ; we do not therefore swell his Virtues, or soften his Vices ; we content ourselves with shewing what he was, knowing well, that scarce any Statesman deserves to be exhibited as a Model, tho' there is hardly one, who, in some light or other, may not be properly considered as a very useful Example. As an Example of the Unsteadiness of human Grandeur, the tinsel Excellence of human Abilities, and the small Degree of Worth and Virtue, necessary to acquire the Dominion over Mortals. But of this enough.

Our Lovers, for from this day we may fairly call them such, were very easily induc'd to credit each other's Protestations of sincere and everlasting Fidelity, because little Evidence is necessary to prove
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what we wish to be true. The Duke had a great advantage over the Lady, he was practised in the Art of Persuasion, he knew well how to operate on the Passions, and was very far from being ignorant in that peculiar kind of Eloquence which is suited to the Affairs of Love. On the other hand, the fair *Castilian* was as much struck to see a Duke and Grandee of *Spain*, one who had but lately govern'd the Kingdom, and who still wore Marks of the extraordinary Favour he was once in with Emperors and Kings, addressing himself to her as the Mistress of his future Fortunes, the Arbiter of his Peace, and the sole and ultimate End of his Wishes. What the Consequences were of this Interview, we must be ignorant of Human Nature not to guess; nor can we be well acquainted with it, if we do not pity a poor Woman tender in Years, more tender by Constitution, and exposed to such Assaults, as might have been dangerous to the most accomplish'd and most experienced of her Sex. We shall hereafter see greater Reasons for compassionating one, whose Courage, Constancy, and other amiable Virtues, deserved a better Fate, if her own Choice had not drawn upon her that of travelling through the World, without Friends, without Character, without any nobler View, than that of obeying a Man whose tumultuous Passions hurried him from one mad Action to another, and with whom, whatever she might hope, yet it is certain, she never did enjoy one hour of true Content.

As for the Statesman, he was no less charmed with his Success in Intrigue, than if he had carried some political Project into execution; eager, and violent in his Nature, vain and ostentatious in his Humour, he suffered his Imagination to be swell'd with a Triumph, which ought rather to have plunged him into Shame and Remorse. But he had long ago parted with all real Religion; for having
found,

found, that it answered few political Purposes, and having himself few other Purposes to answer, he used it a-while as a Tool ; and when it could be used no longer as such, threw it altogether away. After the first Sallies of his Inclination had abated its Fervour, he began to think of making his Mistress useful as a Confident. His Valet, who was privy to his Amour, made the third in the Council, and amongst them all Affairs were debated, with equal Freedom and Confidence. The Friends of the Duke repaired to the Lady's House, and by her Interest, with some necessary Helps, had now and then Permission to converse with the Duke himself ; which for a time lessened the Plague of Confinement, and served to raise and cherish his hopes. The rather, because in these Conferences he learned, that things abroad were by no means in a quiet Condition ; that his Imprisonment had scarce given more Disquiet to himself than to his Enemies, who were at a loss how to render it perpetual, at the same time that they could not endure the Thoughts of seeing it at an end. That the Differences between *Spain* and *Great Britain* were wider than ever ; and that, in fine, all things tended to War and Confusion, which was the Point wherein the Duke desired to see them issue, conceiving, that some unforeseen Mischance might give a sudden turn to the publick Affairs, and incline the King to call him once more from Confinement, to a share at least in the Royal Councils, if not to that absolute Direction of them which he once enjoyed. Such were the Dreams of the Duke *de Ripperda*, such the Illusions of a heated Imagination, everlastingly presenting to him Phantoms, either to terrify beyond Measure, or to exalt his Thoughts beyond Reason. We will pass from these Reveries to the State of publick Affairs in *Spain*, and to a concise Detail of the Differences between that Court and the Court of *Great Britain* ;
because,

because, without thoroughly understanding these, there can be no such thing as forming a Notion of the Duke *de Ripperda's* subsequent Conduct, and the great hopes he had of distinguishing himself at the Court at *St. James's*.

It was in the Month of *May*, 1726, that the Duke *de Ripperda* was conducted to the Castle at *Segovia*. It has been before shewn, that at that time *France*, *Great Britain* and *Holland*, were entered into a strict Confederacy to obviate some Difficulties they apprehended would rise from the System *Spain* and the Emperor sought to introduce. On the one hand, they resolved to have the *Ostend* Company totally taken away; and on the other, the Emperor and the King of *Spain* labour'd, not only to establish it, but the latter sought also to wrest the strong Fortress of *Gibraltar* from the King of *Great Britain*, and to introduce some new Regulations in relation to Trade in the *West-Indies*; wherein he expected not only the good Offices, but even the Assistance, when it should become necessary, of his Imperial Majesty. To further which, it is said, that immense Sums were remitted from *Madrid* to *Vienna*, which gave no small Displeasure to the Court of *France*; insomuch, that the Count *de Morville*, one of his most Christian Majesty's Secretaries of State, could not help saying to the *Nuncio Maffei*, That such Rémittances were the more amazing, since the Poverty of *Spain* was not only well known, but the Obligations also she was under to the Court of *France*, for the Assistance given by *Lewis XIV.* to his Grandson, for which, on a stated Account, there was eighty Millions due to the Court of *France*. This determined the wise Councils of that Court to adhere firmly to the Treaty of *Herenhausen*, and to shew as great a Disposition as any of the Allies, to compel, as well his most Catholick Majesty as the Emperor, to leave things

things in their old Situation, and to lay aside the new Plans they had formed for enriching their own Subjects, and aggrandizing their own Power at the expence, as was apprehended, of their Neighbours.

The Court of *Great Britain* thought themselves obliged to carry things farther; they therefore sent two powerful Fleets, one under Sir *John Jennings* into the *Mediterranean*, and one under Admiral *Hofier* into the *West-Indies*. The former, to prevent *Spain* from taking any steps in favour of the *Pretender*, which was then held to be her darling Scheme; the other to hinder the Galleons from coming home, and thereby to cut off all hopes from the Emperor, of drawing any farther Subsidies immediately from *Spain*.

In the beginning of the Month of *August*, Sir *John Jennings* and his Fleet appeared upon the *Spanish* Coast, which exceedingly alarmed the King and his Ministry; the more, because Sir *John* entered the Port of *Santona*, under pretence of taking in fresh Water, and tho' nothing happened there-upon, the Admiral affirming, that his Instructions warranted no Hostilities, yet the Business of *Messina* ran so much in their heads, that *M. de la Paz* wrote instantly from *St. Ildefonso*, where the Court then was, to *M. Stanhope* the *British* Minister, demanding an Answer Categorical, and without Equivocation, as to the Design on which Sir *John Jennings* was sent into the *Mediterranean*. To this Letter, *M. Stanhope* returned an Answer on the 17th of *August*, which was the very day on which it was written, importing, that it was simply impossible for him to give such an Answer as was demanded, because his Court had not advised him as to the Intention of sending that Squadron; but that if his Catholick Majesty would be contented therewith, he would instantly dispatch a Courier to his Court, in order to obtain better Information on

that head. To this Answer, the Marquis *de la Paz* reply'd on the 19th, informing M. *Stanhope*, that his Majesty was very well satisfied with the Expedient he had propos'd of sending a Courier, only desired that at the same time he demanded in his Majesty's Name an Account of the End for which Sir *John Jennings* was come into the *Mediterranean*, he would also desire an exact Account of the Ends for which Admiral *Hofier* was sent into *America*; and that until such time as this Answer arrived, his Majesty had taken a Resolution to forbid the Entrance of those Squadrons into any of his Ports, as also the Entrance of any of the Ships belonging to those Squadrons; allowing them however to take in fresh Water, with a few small Boats or Cháloups.

On the Return of his Courier, M. *Stanhope* drew up and presented the following Memorial, wherein is contained a very distinct Account, as well of the Motives which induced his *Britannick* Majesty to send those Squadrons, as of the Ends for which they were sent. Without doubt, no Paper was ever better drawn than this, and therefore the Reader cannot but peruse it with pleasure.

Mr. Stanhope's Memorial to the King of Spain,
Sept. 24. 1726.

S I R,

THE underwritten Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of his *Britannick* Majesty, having transmitted to his Court the Letters (Copies of which are subjoined) that passed between the Marquis *de la Paz* and him on the 17th and 19th of *August* last, on occasion of the Arrival of the *British* Squadron on the Coasts of *Spain*; received yesterday by an Extraordinary Courier Orders to represent thereupon to your Majesty,

‘ Majesty, That the King his Master was very
 ‘ much surprized, as well at the Style as the Sub-
 ‘ stance of the Marquis *de la Paz*’s said Letters, in
 ‘ which Expressions are used, and Demands made,
 ‘ that are not usual among the Ministers of Princes,
 ‘ who live together in Friendship; and that the
 ‘ King cannot conceive how your Majesty could
 ‘ take alarm at the Fleet under Sir *John Jennings*
 ‘ appearing on the Coasts of *St. Andero*, since the
 ‘ Marquis *de la Paz* himself acknowledges, that the
 ‘ Admiral, as soon as he arrived, assured the *Spa-*
 ‘ *nish* Governours, that he was not come with an
 ‘ Intention to commit any Hostility, but as a Friend,
 ‘ and with pacifick Dispositions, having been driven
 ‘ upon the Coasts by contrary Winds, and by the
 ‘ Necessity of supplying himself there with fresh
 ‘ Water.

‘ That the King is likewise surprized, that your
 ‘ Majesty yourself should not know the Reasons,
 ‘ and be sensible of the Necessity, which obliged his
 ‘ Majesty to make those naval Preparations; con-
 ‘ sidering the Engagements into which some of the
 ‘ most considerable Powers of *Europe* have of late
 ‘ entered, and of which his Majesty has complain-
 ‘ ed so often and so loudly. The naval Arma-
 ‘ ments, and Equipments, which have been made
 ‘ in most of the Ports of *Spain*: The Preparations
 ‘ of War, and the Motions of a considerable num-
 ‘ ber of *Spanish* Troops, towards that Part of their
 ‘ Coast which lies nearest and most convenient for
 ‘ executing an Enterprize on his Majesty’s Domi-
 ‘ nions: The great Hopes of the Emissaries and
 ‘ Adherents of the *Pretender*, who have publickly
 ‘ boasted of the Assistance they should receive from
 ‘ those Parts: The Confidence they had in it, and
 ‘ which has appeared clearly in the pernicious and
 ‘ indiscreet Conduct of some among them, who have
 ‘ been lately received and favoured at *Madrid*: This,

‘ joined with the Intrigues which have been car-
‘ ried on with the *Muscovites*, and the Reasons his
‘ Majesty has to suspect the ill Designs upon which
‘ the three Ships were sent last Year from *Peters-*
‘ *bourg* to *Cadiz*, and thence to *St. Andero*: The
‘ Knowledge his Majesty had last Winter, by the
‘ Avowal of the Minister of *Spain*, that there was
‘ an offensive Alliance between the Courts of *Ma-*
‘ *drid* and *Vienna*; and that by one of the Articles of
‘ that Alliance, it was stipulated to use open Force to
‘ get *Gibraltar* restored to the King of *Spain*, a Place
‘ which his Majesty possesses by virtue of so just a
‘ Right: The great Subsidies which have been fur-
‘ nished to the Imperial Court, and which are not
‘ seen to be settled by any Alliance that has yet been
‘ made publick: The notorious Infractions, which
‘ the *Spanish* Guarda Costas have for a long time
‘ made, with respect to the Commerce and Navi-
‘ gation of his Majesty’s Subjects in the *West-In-*
‘ *dies*; Infractions which have been so often com-
‘ plained of, without the least Appearance of Sa-
‘ tisfaction or Reparation: These things joined to-
‘ gether, are sufficient to exhibit clearly the Reasons,
‘ which have induced his Majesty to take the Mea-
‘ sures he judged proper, and to equip the several
‘ Fleets which have put to Sea; and his Majesty’s
‘ Subjects would have had just cause to complain,
‘ had not care been taken for the Security of the
‘ Kingdom, and of their Rights and Properties,
‘ which they saw threatned and in danger. Where-
‘ fore his Majesty expects that his Ships of War
‘ will be suffered to enter, and be received into the
‘ Ports of *Spain*, in the manner conformable to
‘ what has been regulated by the several Treaties
‘ that actually subsist between the two Nations.

‘ The said Ambassador has likewise Order to take
‘ this occasion to inform his Catholick Majesty, of
‘ the Surprize the King is in, that no Satisfaction
‘ has

‘ has yet been offered, upon the extraordinary and
 ‘ unjustifiable Manner of taking by force out of
 ‘ his House the Duke of *Ripperda*: A Proceeding
 ‘ of which he complained some time ago, in the
 ‘ Name and by the Command of his Majesty. And
 ‘ lastly, he has order to say, that the King is no
 ‘ less surprized at the Affront offered to his Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s Consul residing at *St. Sebastian*, who was ob-
 ‘ liged to quit his Post, and forced to go to *Sala-*
 ‘ *manca*; contrary to the Law of Nations, and
 ‘ contrary to the Tenour of the Treaties which
 ‘ subsist between the two Crowns. Done at *Ma-*
 ‘ *drid* the 24th of September, 1726.

Wm. Stanhope.

To this Paper which was presented on the 25th
 of September, the Marquis *de la Paz* returned the
 following Answer, in which it is very remarkable,
 that the Declarations, said to be made by the Duke
de Ripperda to M. Stanhope, are treated as false and
 chimerical, and the renewed Demand of Satisfaction
 for the Duke’s being taken away, is represented not
 only as a thing unfounded in the Law of Nations,
 but entirely repugnant thereto.

Letter from the Marquis de la Paz to Mr. Stanhope.

S I R,

St. Ildefonso, Sept. 30, 1726.

‘ P URSUANT to what your Excellency did me the
 ‘ honour to write to me in your Letter of the
 ‘ 25th of this Month, I immediately put into the
 ‘ Royal Hands of the King my Master the Memo-
 ‘ rial which your Excellency sent me directed to his
 ‘ Majesty, as a Reply made by your Excellency
 ‘ (in consequence of the Orders of his *Britannick*
 ‘ Majesty your Master, which were received by
 ‘ the Return of a Courier dispatched to *London*,
 ‘ who brought them to your Excellency the 24th

N 3

‘ Instant)

‘ Instant) to the Contents of two Letters which his
‘ Majesty commanded me to write to you the 17th
‘ and 19th of last Month, the Copies of which,
‘ with that of your Excellency’s Answer of the
‘ 17th, are hereto subjoined, as being the Basis and
‘ Foundation of the said Memorial, of the Con-
‘ tents of which his Majesty has been distinctly in-
‘ formed.

‘ Notwithstanding his Majesty had reason to pro-
‘ mise himself, and to expect from the Court of
‘ *Great Britain*, a more clear, positive, and satis-
‘ factory Answer, yet he is not at all surprized to
‘ see, that the *English* Ministry, (continuing their
‘ bad Disposition and Intentions, which they have
‘ for some time discovered by their Proceedings, tho’
‘ they endeavour to palliate them by amicable Pro-
‘ testations and Expressions, that have not been
‘ spared on this occasion) instead of opening them-
‘ selves and giving a sincere and amicable Explana-
‘ tion, as was desired, touching the Destination of
‘ the Squadrons commanded by the Admirals *Hos-
‘ sier* and *Jennings*, going to the Seas of the *Indies*,
‘ and appearing on the Coasts of this Kingdom, have
‘ thought fit to make use of new Turns and spe-
‘ cious Pretexts, to multiply Complaints that are
‘ without ground, and are intirely opposite to the
‘ Candour and good Faith, which his Majesty ob-
‘ serves religiously towards his Friends and Allies;
‘ but are suitable to the Genius of the present *Eng-
‘ lish* Ministry, as appears by those exaggerated airy
‘ Pretexts and Reasons, which they accumulated to
‘ persuade the Parliament of the imaginary Dangers
‘ that threatned the *British* Crown and Nation, to
‘ induce and determine them to consent to the fit-
‘ ting out of so many different Squadrons, with an
‘ Expence so great, and so little needful. How-
‘ ever, his Majesty has ordered me to declare to
‘ your Excellency, what the pure Force of Truth
‘ and

‘ and his most upright Intentions dictate to his
 ‘ Royal Heart, with respect to the Suspicions which
 ‘ his *Britannick* Majesty shews of the Conduct of
 ‘ this Court.

‘ In the first place, it is alledg’d, That naval
 ‘ Armaments and Equipments have been made in
 ‘ the Ports of *Spain*; when it is certain and noto-
 ‘ rious to the World, that none extraordinary have
 ‘ been made, nor so considerable, as might give
 ‘ the least Apprehension to *England*; notwithstand-
 ‘ ing the numerous Squadrons, which, with so
 ‘ much Ardour, Application, and Diligence, were
 ‘ equipping and sending out of the Ports of *Eng-*
 ‘ *land*, gave Ground and sufficient Reason to his
 ‘ Majesty, to make like Preparations and Disposi-
 ‘ tions; especially when the Reports, which were
 ‘ spread at the same time through all Parts of *Eu-*
 ‘ *rope*, threatned the Dominions and Interests of
 ‘ his Majesty in these Kingdoms and those of the
 ‘ *Indies*; and when those Reports were corrobo-
 ‘ rated and confirmed by the Rout, taken by the
 ‘ said two Squadrons, which have appeared before
 ‘ the Ports of the *West-Indies*, and those of these
 ‘ Kingdoms.

‘ The same is to be said, with respect to the Mo-
 ‘ tions of a considerable number of Troops towards
 ‘ the Coasts nearest to *Great Britain*; with this dif-
 ‘ ference, that the Complaint of the King my Ma-
 ‘ ster on this head, is precedent and solidly found-
 ‘ ed, seeing it was the Arrival of the *English* Squa-
 ‘ dron in sight of *St. Andero* that finally alarmed the
 ‘ Tranquility and good Faith in which we lived;
 ‘ as appears manifestly by the little Preparations
 ‘ made in those Parts, where just the necessary Gar-
 ‘ risons were maintained, which cannot be lessened
 ‘ in time of Peace, considering former Examples,
 ‘ for securing from Surprise and Danger the Docks

‘ made in the neighbouring Places for building
‘ Ships.

‘ As for encouraging the *Pretender*, it is not possible to accuse his Majesty with Truth of having taken any step, or hearkened to, much less given Assistance in Support of, his Designs and Pretensions to that Crown; the Conduct which has been observed towards those very Emissaries, which are confusedly hinted at in your Excellency’s Memorial, being indeed the most authentick Testimony of his Majesty’s good Faith and religious Friendship towards his *Britannick* Majesty: but his Majesty cannot answer for, nor charge himself with the Rumours on that Subject, which the Adherents of the *Pretender* have spread to encourage each other.

‘ It is not comprehensible what ground there is for suspecting of ill Designs, and for imputing to suspicious Intelligence, the Admission into the Ports of *Spain* of three Merchant-Ships of *Muscovy*; which, according to the Custom observed towards all Nations that are Friends, had Entrance at *Cadiz*, and afterwards went to *St. Andero*, to traffick there: so that, in truth, there must be a great Propensity to Suspicion and Distrust, to conceive it from so innocent a Proceeding.

‘ As for the false Confidence which the Duke of *Ripperda* made last Winter to your Excellency, that an offensive Alliance had been concluded, by which the Emperor had expressly engaged himself for the recovering of *Gibraltar*, his Imperial Majesty has already sufficiently endeavoured to deceive his *Britannick* Majesty; the Drift being only to remind his *Britannick* Majesty of the Promises he has made on this head, which neither his Majesty nor the *Spanish* Nation can ever renounce.

‘ It

‘ It is notorious, that his *Britannick* Majesty has
 ‘ expended and employed considerable Sums lately in
 ‘ *France, Prussia, Sweden, Holland*, and other Parts,
 ‘ to promote his Ends, and accomplish his Negotia-
 ‘ tions; yet hitherto the Catholick King my Ma-
 ‘ ster has never entered into the Curiosity, to learn
 ‘ the Motives of those Expences; and this renders
 ‘ it the more strange, that his *Britannick* Ma-
 ‘ jesty should come to ask an Account of the Rea-
 ‘ sons his Majesty has had to send Subsidies, or not,
 ‘ to the Emperor.

‘ The Complaint which has for its Subject the
 ‘ Conduct of the *Guarda Costas*, and which tra-
 ‘ duces their Operations as Infractions of Com-
 ‘ merce, and of the Treaties, is in all respects the
 ‘ most unjust that could be formed; because those
 ‘ Ships have not done any thing but in discharge
 ‘ of their Duty, by hindering as much as possible
 ‘ only the unlawful and clandestine Commerce of
 ‘ all Nations in the *West-Indies*, from which they
 ‘ are so solemnly prohibited by virtue of repeated
 ‘ Treaties, the Articles of which have hitherto
 ‘ been infringed, to the prejudice of his Majesty, and
 ‘ of his Rights, of which it is attempted to defraud
 ‘ him with so much Insolence in his lawful Domi-
 ‘ nions; it not appearing, that on the part of his
 ‘ *Britannick* Majesty the least Remedy has been
 ‘ used against the Conduct of his Subjects, and
 ‘ those of other Powers in those Parts.

‘ Your Excellency concludes, with declaring an-
 ‘ other new Surprize of his *Britannick* Majesty, that
 ‘ no Satisfaction has yet been given upon the taking
 ‘ of the Duke of *Ripperda* out of your Excellency’s
 ‘ House: But as that Resolution the King my Ma-
 ‘ ster took was no less well-weighed, than fully jus-
 ‘ tified before God and Men, and so conformable
 ‘ to the Law of Nations, that no Violation of your
 ‘ Excellency’s Character, nor of the Protection of
 ‘ the

‘ the House distinguished by the Arms of *Great Britain*, can be argued from it; the Reasons considered, which his Majesty had the Goodness to exhibit to the Publick in the circular Letter that he ordered me to write to all his Ministers in foreign Courts, and particularly at that of *London*, to the end that his *Britannick* Majesty might be informed of the Fact, and to those of other Powers residing at this Court; his Majesty does not see cause to speak or think any more of that Affair, seeing there are neither Means nor Necessity for the Accommodation demanded.

‘ To justify the more by Effects his Majesty’s Conduct, and that by them a right Judgment may be formed of his *Britannick* Majesty’s Intentions, and of the Expedition of his Squadrons, the King has ordered me to send to your Excellency Copies hereto annexed of the authentick Advices, which he received from the *Havana*, since your Excellency presented your Memorial; that it might be seen whether the Operations of Admiral *Hofier* and his Squadron, at *Portobello*, are worthy of a Prince, who gives such Assurances of the Subsistence of his Friendship as does his *Britannick* Majesty, and who complains so much of Infractions on the King’s part, without being able to prove the least Hostility, Disregard, or Action, that is not conformable to the best Correspondence.

‘ In the Supposition of this Fact, which his Majesty cannot avoid deeming a Violation of the reciprocal good Correspondence and of the Peace, as well from the Hostilities committed, as those which shall have been continued in *America*: He will see himself obliged to take the Measures that are most conducive to the Honour and Dignity of his Crown, and to the Security of his Dominions and of his Subjects; unless his *Britannick* Majesty

‘ Majesty disposes and orders, without delay, the
‘ making speedy Satisfaction and Reparation.’

*At St. Ildefonso, the
30th of Septem- Don Juan Baptista de Orendayn.
ber, 1726.*

*Copy of the Deposition of Don Diego Ramos before
the ordinary Judges of the City of Trinidad de
Cuba, the 28th of July, 1726.*

‘ **T**HE Judges caused immediately to appear
‘ before them Don *Diego Ramos*, Inhabitant of
‘ this City, Passenger in the Vessel named in the
‘ Act, and administered to him the Oath, which he
‘ took according to Law, in the Name of God
‘ our Lord and the holy Cross; and questioning
‘ him upon the Matter contained in the said Act,
‘ he declared as follows:

‘ That he was at *Portobello* at the time when
‘ twelve *English* Ships of War appeared there, which
‘ was the *Sunday* of the holy Trinity this Year;
‘ that they were four Ships of the Line, and eight
‘ Frigats; that the same day the President of *Pana-*
‘ *ma*, who was at *Portobello*, knowing they were
‘ come to an Anchor at *Bastimentos*, sent a Messen-
‘ ger, to complain to their Commander in Chief,
‘ and demand why they were come upon those
‘ Coasts; that they answered the next day, that
‘ they were come by order of their Sovereign, to
‘ convoy the *English* licensed Ship which was with
‘ the Galleons; which Answer was brought by
‘ some *English* of the said Squadron, having among
‘ them one of the Factors of *Cartagena* of the *Affien-*
‘ *to de Negros*, in a Barge, which entered the Port,
‘ giving an Account at the same time (being requi-
‘ red) that there was no War between the two
‘ Crowns; that the *English* licensed Ship, and a Packet-
‘ Boat,

‘ Boat, which were in the Port, were delivered to
‘ them; that the President seeing they did not de-
‘ part, sent to ask them why they remained at An-
‘ chor on the Coast; they answered they could not
‘ retire till new Order from their Sovereign: That
‘ four of the twelve Ships kept guard from *Basti-*
‘ *mentos* to *Masfuerte* on the Coast of *Cartagena* out
‘ of sight of Land; and that the *English*, when-
‘ ever they pleased, went to *Portobello* in their
‘ Shallops, and walked about without regarding
‘ the President, or the General and Admiral of the
‘ Galleons; and having met on the Coasts of *Por-*
‘ *tobello* a Bylander, which came from *Sti. Espiritus*,
‘ they stopped it and opened the Letters, and re-
‘ turned them open, and let the Bylander go, be-
‘ ing desirous to learn News of *Sig. Castanneta* whe-
‘ ther he was come from *Spain* with the Squadron
‘ expected in *Spanish America*: That Provisions be-
‘ ing wanted at *Portobello*, a Council of War was
‘ held, in which it was resolved to ask Passage of
‘ the *English* Squadron, that the *Spanish* Barks might
‘ go to fetch Provisions from *Cartagena* to *Porto-*
‘ *bello*; that the *English* Commander granted them
‘ Passage, on condition they were only in Ballast,
‘ without Plate or Fruits; and in short, that all the
‘ Motions of the said *English* Squadron betokened
‘ War. That the last thing the Deponent saw, the
‘ same day he came out of *Portobello* for this City,
‘ (in company of twelve Bylanders, with two *Spa-*
‘ *nish* Convoys bound for *Chagre*, laden with Goods
‘ to be transported to *Panama*, taken out of the
‘ Galleons) was, that one of the *English* Ships of the
‘ Line which lay outermost, made sail towards the said
‘ Vessels, which thereupon fled back again to *Por-*
‘ *tobello*, where most of them entered, and the rest
‘ passed near to the Ship which let them pass, and
‘ went under the Cannon of the Castle, and after-
‘ wards put out again to Sea and sailed away; and
‘ the

‘ the Bylander in which the Deponent came, pur-
 ‘ sued her Voyage, and he knows no more ; and
 ‘ that all he has declared is publick and notoriously
 ‘ true, under an Oath, the Sanctity of which, and
 ‘ the Importance to his Majesty’s Service, were re-
 ‘ presented to him at the same time it was adminis-
 ‘ tered to him, and he took it ; declaring, that he
 ‘ was 34 Years old, and signing with the Judges
 ‘ *Bernal-Fernandez-Diego Ramos*, before me *Sebas-
 ‘ tian de Cala* Notary Publick.

*Copy of a Letter from Don Antonio Serrano, Com-
 madore of the Squadron, at the Havana the eighth
 of August, 1726.*

‘ **T**HE Governour acquainted me the Night of
 ‘ the 4th Instant, that he had Advice by a
 ‘ Letter of the 16th of *July* from *Portobello*, that the
 ‘ Galleons were there, and that twelve *English* Ships
 ‘ lay off that Port, which having sent to demand
 ‘ the licensed Ship and a Packet-Boat which were in
 ‘ that Port, they were delivered to them ; that
 ‘ out of the twelve, four Frigats were detached,
 ‘ which cruized on the Coast from the said Port to
 ‘ *Yslafuerte* and *Cartagena*; that one of our Frigats
 ‘ coming out of *Portobello*, with two Bylanders,
 ‘ for *Chagre*, an *English* Ship followed them,
 ‘ and overtaking them, made them go back to the
 ‘ said Port, without doing them any other Damage ;
 ‘ that the *English* Boats come and go at *Portobello* ;
 ‘ that the Men go ashore and walk where they
 ‘ please ; that the President of *Panama Alderete*
 ‘ was at *Panama*, where *Don Antonio de Castanneta*
 ‘ was not arrived, nor had they any News of him.

‘ By another Letter from *Portobello*, written to
 ‘ one of this Place, the same thing almost is ad-
 ‘ vised, adding, that the Treasure had been re-
 ‘ moved

‘ moved to *Cruzes*, which is within seven Leagues
‘ of *Panama*.’

On the transmitting this Letter to *London*, Mr. *Stanhope* received Instructions to reply to it immediately, which he did in the following Epistle to the Marquis, written with more than ordinary Fire, and wherein the Discoveries made by the Duke de *Ripperda* are insisted upon more strongly than ever; so that the intelligent Reader cannot doubt, that it was chiefly on the Credit of what this Minister said, that such quick Measures were taken in sending *British* Squadrons into the *Mediterranean* and the *West-Indies*.

Letter from Mr. Stanhope to the Marquis de la Paz.

S I R,

Madrid, October 25, 1726.

‘ **H**AVING sent to my Court the Letter which
‘ you did me the honour to write to me the
‘ 30th of *September* last, in answer to my Memo-
‘ rial of the 24th of last Month, I have received
‘ order from the King my Master, to express to
‘ you his Surprise at the Contents of the said Let-
‘ ter, and his deep Concern to see, that after his
‘ Majesty had explained himself in so clear and open
‘ a manner, upon the Reasons that induced him to
‘ make those naval Armaments, of which the King
‘ of *Spain* had complained; instead of a direct,
‘ plain, and satisfactory Reply, which his Majesty
‘ expected to the several Articles of my Memorial,
‘ his Catholick Majesty should have been prevailed
‘ upon to evade answering, and to have Recourse
‘ to Advices come from the *West-Indies*, to decline
‘ giving the Satisfaction that was demanded of him.
‘ As the King is most sincerely and ardently de-
‘ sirous of maintaining a good Correspondence with
‘ *Spain*, he could have heartily wished, that the
‘ Behaviour

‘ Behaviour of his Catholick Majesty on this occasion had not laid him under an indispensable Necessity of exposing, in its true light, the whole Tenour of that Prince’s Conduct with respect to his Majesty, ever since the Establishment of that strict Union which now subsists between the Emperor and *Spain*. From this simple and naked Rehearſal of what has passed, it will evidently appear, that his Catholick Majesty, from the time that he entered into Engagements with the Court of *Vienna*, has only waited for a favourable Opportunity to break with his Majesty, to attack his Dominions, and to endeavour to place the *Pretender* upon the Throne of *Great Britain*.

‘ No ſooner were the Treaties of *Vienna* concluded, but the Duke of *Ripperda* took the liberty to throw out publicly threatning Discourses, and to make Reflections in the most insolent manner upon his Majesty and his Allies. I complained of this, but far from M. *de Ripperda*’s receiving the least Reprimand on that account, Part of what he had there given out was at that time made good by the peremptory Demand of *Gibraltar*, contained in the Letter the Marquis *de Grimaldo* wrote to me the 13th of *July*, 1725, by order of the King of *Spain*. It was formally declared in that Letter, “ That the Continuance of the Alliance and of the Commerce of *England* with *Spain*, depended absolutely on the immediate Restitution of *Gibraltar*.” This Declaration was confirmed by the Language the Queen herself held to me, in an Audience I had soon after of their Catholick Majesties.

‘ There can be no stronger Proof of their Catholick Majesties Approbation of M. *de Ripperda*’s Behaviour, than the great Honours to which they promoted him, and the entire Trust they conferred on him, at his Return to *Madrid*:
‘ And

And as what he had given out at *Vienna*, relating to *Gibraltar*, was verified; so from that time Measures were taken to make good what he had likewise said there, "That the King should be driven out of his Dominions, and the Pretender placed upon the Throne of *Great Britain*." For this purpose, a Person of Note, with whom that Minister had contracted a most intimate Acquaintance during his Stay at *Vienna*, was sent from *Rome* to *Madrid*, with credential Letters from the Pretender, and had frequent Conferences with the *Spanish* Ministers; who, jointly with him, formed Projects for invading his Majesty's Dominions: For carrying on this Design, Preparations were made conformably to those Projects, and a Body of Troops were sent to the Coasts of *Galicia* and *Biscay*; for the transporting of which, the Ships that have been since sent from *Spain* to the *West-Indies*, and the *Russian* Men of War then in *Spain*, were to have been employed. For though you have been pleased to assert, that the *Muscovite* Ships came only on a trading Voyage, yet his Majesty has at this time in his hands undeniable Proofs of their having been fitted out at the Expence of the Pretender's Adherents, and sent from *Muscovy* on purpose to be made use of in an Expedition against his Majesty: For this end it was, that they were sent from *Cadiz* to *St. Ande-ro*, to be ready for that Service. Nothing hindered the Execution of this Enterprize, but the vigorous Resolutions of the Parliament, and the Preparations they enabled his Majesty to make, by fitting out his Fleets for the Defence and Security of his Dominions.

As to the secret offensive Alliance of which M. de *Ripperdam* made the Discovery last Winter; not only to me, but likewise to the Ambassador of *Holland*; tho' you are pleased to call this a false Confidence;

‘ Confidence; yet it is freely left to the Judgment
 ‘ of every impartial Person, who will but observe,
 ‘ that he, who declared to two Ambassadors, that
 ‘ there was really a secret offensive Alliance, was
 ‘ actually Prime Minister to his Catholick Majesty,
 ‘ who honoured him with his intire Confidence;
 ‘ that it was he who had himself made the Treaties
 ‘ of *Vienna*, and who consequently knew better
 ‘ than any one the Truth of what he said to the
 ‘ Ministers of two great Powers, to whom he was
 ‘ giving Audience; that he never denied he had
 ‘ made such a Declaration, when it was publicly
 ‘ talked of; that he was never disowned in it by
 ‘ the King his Master, who continued him a long
 ‘ time after in his Ministry, with the same Trust,
 ‘ and the same Authority; and, in a word, that
 ‘ such his Discovery of a secret offensive Treaty,
 ‘ was never alledged for one of the Causes of his
 ‘ Disgrace.

‘ The Emperor’s establishing the *East-India*
 ‘ Company at *Ostend*, which carries on the Trade
 ‘ from thence to the *East-Indies*, in violation of
 ‘ the 5th and 6th Articles of the Treaty of *Mun-*
 ‘ *ster*, and of several other Treaties actually sub-
 ‘ sisting, is an offensive Act, which *Great Britain*
 ‘ and *Holland* had, and still have, a right to op-
 ‘ pose by open Force, and even to call upon their
 ‘ Allies for Assistance to oppose it the more succe-
 ‘ fully: That his Catholick Majesty had this Sense
 ‘ of it, appears by the repeated Representations
 ‘ made to the Mediators by his Ministers at the
 ‘ Congress of *Cambray*; and also by the Memorial
 ‘ which the Marquis *de Pozobueno* presented at *Lon-*
 ‘ *don* the 5th of *April*, 1724, wherein, among o-
 ‘ ther things, he sets forth, “ That if, after all that
 ‘ “ had been represented to his Imperial Majesty, on
 ‘ “ the part of the States-General of the United Pro-
 ‘ “ vinces, seconded in the strongest manner by the
 ‘ O “ High

“ High Allies, the Cession of the *Netherlands* should
 “ come to be confirmed by *Spain*, without resery-
 “ ing expressly to itself the exclusive Right on the
 “ Navigation to the *Indies* in general, and without
 “ exception; the Consequence would be, that the
 “ States-General would be rightly intitled to de-
 “ mand Satisfaction of *Spain*, for having thereby
 “ made a great Infraction in the Treaty of *Mun-*
 “ *ster*; and further, being not able to enjoy the
 “ Effects of the said Treaty in this Particular, they
 “ would be disengaged from the reciprocal Obliga-
 “ tion to abstain from the Navigation of the *Spanish*
 “ *Indies*.” His Catholick Majesty then looking
 “ upon the Establishment of that Company to be so
 “ much against the Faith of Treaties, that he in-
 “ sisted strongly upon this Affair’s being brought
 “ before the Congress, in order to have the said
 “ Company abolished.

“ This Demand deserves the more Observation,
 “ because his Catholick Majesty made it of his own
 “ Motion, having sent the said Memorial ready
 “ drawn up to the Marquis *de Pozobueno*, as that
 “ Minister himself declares at the beginning of his
 “ Letter to the Duke of *Newcastle*, dated the $\frac{16}{27}$ of
 “ *April* 1724: In that same Letter, which ac-
 “ companied the Memorial, the Marquis *de Pozo-*
 “ *bueno*, among other things, says, “ His Majesty
 “ has resolved to solicit the Mediating Powers, the
 “ rather because he is sensible they are equally in-
 “ terested in it: In that view, he has thought fit
 “ to order me to represent in his Name, these well-
 “ grounded Allegations, and to do myself the Ho-
 “ nour to make Instances to his *Britannick* Majesty
 “ to induce him to send Orders to his Plenipoten-
 “ tiaries at the Congress at *Cambray*, to the end
 “ that with those of his Majesty, they may insist
 “ upon the Abolition of the said Company, and
 “ by Concert oppose its Establishment, as being very
 “ preju-

“ prejudicial, and of such pernicious Consequence
 “ to his Interests, as well as to those of the Media-
 “ ting Powers.”

‘ The Forbearance hitherto of *Great Britain* and
 ‘ *Holland* to make use of forcible Means, neither
 ‘ can nor ought to be interpreted to be a Depar-
 ‘ ture from their Right, since their Patience in an
 ‘ Affair they are so much interested in and so essen-
 ‘ tial, has proceeded only from their Moderation
 ‘ and Desire to try all other Methods before they
 ‘ come to such Extremities. In the mean time,
 ‘ they have been so far from acquiescing in the Es-
 ‘ tablishment of that Company, that they frequent-
 ‘ ly made strong Representations on this head to
 ‘ the Imperial Court, and lately to that of *Spain*.
 ‘ How then could his Catholick Majesty grant his
 ‘ Protection to that Company, allow it Privileges
 ‘ in Trade, contrary to his Treaties with *Great Bri-*
 ‘ *tain* and *Holland*? and even declare his Resolution
 ‘ to support it in all Events, as appears most plainly
 ‘ from the Answer his Catholick Majesty gave me
 ‘ when I desired to know, whether in case the Em-
 ‘ peror would not agree to a Proporsal for adjusting
 ‘ that Affair, which the King of *Spain* himself had ad-
 ‘ judg’d reasonable, his Catholick Majesty would not
 ‘ then desist from supporting the Emperor in this Pre-
 ‘ tension: The King of *Spain*’s Answer was, *That*
 ‘ *he could not say that, for he must stand by his En-*
 ‘ *gagements with the Emperor.* That Resolution
 ‘ of his Catholick Majesty is also evident by his Let-
 ‘ ter to the States-General, and by the Declaration
 ‘ which the Marquis de *St. Philippe* made in *Hol-*
 ‘ *land*, *That his Catholick Majesty would look upon*
 ‘ *whatever should be undertaken against the Ostend*
 ‘ *Trade, as done against himself.* His Catholick Majesty
 ‘ could not make a Declaration of this Nature in
 ‘ any other view, than that of forcing *Great Bri-*
 ‘ *tain* and *Holland* to submit to the Emperor in this

‘ Particular ; or with an Intention of coming to a
 ‘ Rupture with his Majesty : For the King of *Spain*
 ‘ must easily foresee, that from the Instant he had
 ‘ entered into such offensive Engagements with the
 ‘ Emperor, in support of this Trade, *England* and
 ‘ *Holland* would have the same Right to act, and
 ‘ to call for the Assistance of their Allies against
 ‘ *Spain*, as they had before against the Emperor
 ‘ alone.

‘ The Refusal of Entrance into the *Spanish* Ports
 ‘ to any Ship of the Squadron commanded by Sir
 ‘ *John Jennings*, tho’ the Admiral had previously
 ‘ given the fullest Assurances to the Governours of
 ‘ all the Ports before which he appeared, that he
 ‘ came thither as a Friend, and with pacifick Inten-
 ‘ tions ; and the taking the Duke *de Ripperda* by
 ‘ force out of my House, are manifest Infractions
 ‘ of Treaties, and of the Law of Nations ; these,
 ‘ as also the Violence done to the King’s Consul at
 ‘ *St. Sebastian*, by forcing him to depart from thence
 ‘ and go to *Salamanca*, without the least pretence
 ‘ for it, which, no doubt, was done to prevent his
 ‘ getting any Knowledge of the Preparations that
 ‘ were making in those Parts against his Majesty,
 ‘ can be look’d upon no otherwise than as repeated
 ‘ Acts of Hostility. To which must be added, as
 ‘ a new Proof of Hostilities committed against his
 ‘ Majesty’s Allies, the Order given the 4th of Oc-
 ‘ tober, 1726, to the *Dutch* Men of War, which
 ‘ were in the Port of *Cadiz*, to depart thence in 24
 ‘ Hours, without any reason for such Violence :
 ‘ The Governor having declared besides, that he
 ‘ had Orders not to permit for the future any *Eng-
 ‘ lish* or *Dutch* Ship of War to enter that Port.

‘ As to what you alledge in your foresaid Letter,
 ‘ of Money distributed by the King’s Order in
 ‘ *France*, *Holland*, *Sweden*, and *Prussia*, his Ma-
 ‘ jesty is amazed to find, that the Respect due to
 ‘ Powers

‘ Powers of that Rank and Figure in *Europe*, has
 ‘ not been able to protect from so unjust and vile
 ‘ an Aspersion; neither is it to be imagined, how
 ‘ so mean a Piece of Calumny could be offered, as
 ‘ an Answer to the Representation I had made con-
 ‘ cerning the Remittances publicly made from
 ‘ *Spain* to the Court of *Vienna*; Remittances solli-
 ‘ cited openly by the Emperor’s Ambassador, and
 ‘ demanded by him as Subsidies.

‘ As to the Proceedings of Admiral *Hofier* in the
 ‘ *West-Indies*, of which you complain in your Let-
 ‘ ter, his Majesty having received no Account
 ‘ from Admiral *Hofier* of any such Transactions as
 ‘ are complained of, can say nothing to those Facts;
 ‘ but wonders to see the Court of *Spain* making
 ‘ Complaints of this nature; when, notwithstanding
 ‘ the frequent Representations which I have made,
 ‘ they have not thought fit to put an end to the De-
 ‘ predations and open Hostilities, which have been for
 ‘ some time almost daily committed in those Parts
 ‘ by the *Spaniards*, or to give the King the least
 ‘ Satisfaction for the Damages done to his Subjects,
 ‘ in Violation of all Treaties; Damages so many
 ‘ and so great, that this Treatment from his Ca-
 ‘ tholick Majesty would have sufficiently justified
 ‘ the King’s taking the most vigorous Measures for
 ‘ Redress. And certainly, though in sending of
 ‘ the Squadron under Admiral *Hofier* to the *West-*
 ‘ *Indies*, a View was had to the protecting of the
 ‘ Commerce and Effects of his Majesty’s Subjects;
 ‘ yet as that Squadron is to remain in those Seas, it
 ‘ is easy to conceive, that the further Conduct of
 ‘ Admiral *Hofier*, ought to be regulated by that of
 ‘ *Spain*.

‘ By this true and impartial State of what has
 ‘ passed between the two Courts, it will appear, not
 ‘ only how much the King my Master has been in-
 ‘ jured, but how great his Moderation and Love of

‘ Peace have been, in forbearing to resent these notorious Infractions of Treaties, the dangerous Projects formed against him and his Dominions, and the Hostilities committed against his Subjects; which gave him certainly full Right, not only to make use of all the Power that God has put into his hands, but also to call upon his Allies to be ready to make good their Engagements to him, which the present Behaviour and Declarations of the Court of *Spain* render inevitable.

‘ But as his Majesty, out of a sincere Desire to serve the publick Peace, has hitherto been contented with putting himself into a Posture of Defence, by making such Armaments by Sea, as might effectually secure his Subjects and Dominions from any Insults or Attempts, and prevent the Execution of all such Designs and Projects, as threatned the Safety and Interests of his Kingdoms and of his Allies, as well as the general Tranquility of *Europe*; his Catholick Majesty may be assured, that if he is disposed to give Satisfaction and Reparation to his Majesty and his Allies, and will remove all the just Causes they have of Complaints and Apprehensions, and renew his former good Correspondence and Confidence with his Majesty and his Allies; his Majesty in conjunction with them, is still ready on his part, to do every thing that can contribute to the Re-establishment of that good Correspondence which he has always been and still is desirous to preserve and maintain between the two Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*.

‘ This is exactly, Sir, what I have been ordered by the King my Master to answer to your foresaid Letter of the 30th of *September* last.

I am, &c.

Wm. Stanhope.

To

Duke DE RIPPERDA. 199

To this Letter the Marquis *de la Paz* returned no Answer; but on the 21st of *September* following, the *Spanish* Minister at the Court of *Great Britain*, wrote to the principal Secretary of State a clear and full Replication, wherein the Character of the Duke *de Ripperda* is so strongly painted, that it cannot but make a very proper Part of his History.

Letter from the Marquis de Pozobueno to the Duke of Newcastle.

1 January, 1727,
London, _____
21 Dec. 1726.

My Lord,

THE King my Master, after having seen and been fully informed of the Contents of the Letter which Mr. *Stanhope* wrote the 25th of last Month to the Marquis *de la Paz*, has been pleased to order me to answer it at this Court, Article by Article, for avoiding all Ambiguity.

In the acquitting myself then of his Majesty's Orders, I shall have the honour to acquaint your Excellency, that the King my Master cannot comprehend the Reason of his *Britannick* Majesty's Surprize, which Mr. *Stanhope* exaggerates in his Letter, when he was informed of the Contents of that of the Marquis *de la Paz* of the 30th of *September* last; it being certain, that his *Britannick* Majesty could not but know the Orders he had given to Admiral *Hofier*, when he sent him with a Squadron of Ships of War to the *Indian* Seas, in pursuance of which it is to be believed, that Admiral executed the Hostilities in question, which Orders no doubt preceeded, and were previous to the Complaints that Mr. *Stanhope* made in his Memorial to the King my Master the 24th of *September*; so that his *Britannick* Majesty had no

O 4

Cause

‘ Cause to be surpris’d, and, on the contrary,
‘ should not have expected any thing else, than that
‘ the King my Master would complain loudly, and
‘ demand Satisfaction for so open an Infraction of
‘ the Peace, and such manifest Hostilities, as soon
‘ as they should come to his Knowledge; especially
‘ they having been done at a time, when his
‘ Majesty relied entirely on the good Faith of the
‘ Treaties which subsisted with *England*; seeing the
‘ King my Master had not made the least Disposition,
‘ nor given any Order to his Ministers, and
‘ Commanders in the *Indies*, contrary to the Treaties
‘ for the Continuance of the Commerce which
‘ is there permitted and granted; nor prevented by
‘ Hostilities and reciprocal Insults those which were
‘ exercised, and which were not expected from the
‘ said Squadron, as was most clearly demonstrated
‘ by the friendly and voluntary Delivery of the
‘ licensed Ship to Admiral *Hosier* at *Portobello*, tho’
‘ in strictness, that Ship ought to have staid till
‘ the Galleons had sailed for *Spain*.

‘ As to the Complaints, which had likewise been
‘ previously exhibited in Mr. *Stanhope*’s Representation
‘ of the 24th of *September*, and which were
‘ offered as a clear and distinct Explanation of the
‘ Reasons which obliged the King of *England* to
‘ send out such considerable Armaments to make
‘ their Appearance in different Seas, though the
‘ Marquis *de la Paz* has already answered them
‘ fully, and shewn their Inconsistency and the little
‘ Ground there is for them, nevertheless I am ordered
‘ to satisfy again more precisely on this point
‘ in the Compass of the present Answer, upon the
‘ Articles relative to this Subject.

‘ In answering the second Article of Mr. *Stanhope*’s Letter,
‘ I am to assure, that the King my Master has nothing more
‘ at heart, and wishes
‘ nothing so much, as the Peace and Tranquility of
‘ his

his Dominions, and of all *Europe*; and in consequence would accept with the most perfect Satisfaction the Proteſtations which his *Britannick* Maſteſty makes of a ſincere Ardour to preſerve Peace and good Underſtanding with the Crown of *Spain*, were it poſſible to combine ſuch amicable Expreſſions with Inſults and Hoſtilities committed in full Peace.

As to what Mr. *Stanhope* ſays, in his third Article, of threatning Diſcourſes which the Duke of *Ripperda* might have held at *Vienna*, his Maſteſty can no way be made reſponſible for what the Duke (whoſe haſty and violent Temper is ſo notorious) may have ſaid in the warmth of Converſation; perhaps likewise there might be Perſons ill-intentioned enough to add to it things of their own Invention: But as to what was then declared to Mr. *Stanhope*, by word of Mouth and in Writing, that the good Correſpondence and Friendſhip with *England* depended abſolutely on the ſpeedy Reſtitution of *Gibraltar*, I cannot avoid confirming it anew to your Excellency, by Order from the King my Maſter, as a Declaration moſt juſtly founded, inſiſting on that Reſtitution, after the King of *Great Britain* had on this Point given, as he did give, a poſitive Promise; beſides, that on the other hand the Ceſſion which his Maſteſty made precedently of that Place, is become null, becauſe of the Infrac-tions made in the Conditions on which it was permitted, that the *Engliſh* Garrifon ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar*; ſeeing that contrary to all the Proteſtations made, they have not only extended their Fortifications, by exceeding the Limits preſcribed and ſtipulated, but what is more, contrary to the expreſs and literal Tenour of the Treaties, they receive and admit the *Jews* and *Moors* in the ſame manner as the *Spaniards*, and other Nations con-founded

‘ founded and mixed, contrary to our holy Religion ; not to mention the Frauds and continual Contrabands which are carried on there to the prejudice of his Majesty’s Revenues.

‘ Mr. *Stanhope*, in the 5th Article of his Letter, speaks again of the Duke of *Ripperda*, whereupon I repeat, that tho’ his Majesty thought fit to reward that Minister by Employments of his Royal Confidence, when he returned from *Vienna* to *Madrid*, in regard to a Peace which the King my Master wished for, and which he had concluded to his Satisfaction, it is not said from thence, that his Majesty ought to answer for that Duke’s Discourses, and his vain and strange Notions, which at length induced his Majesty, not only to depose him from his Employments, but likewise to secure the Person of a Minister, who was as dangerous as culpable.

‘ As to the Duke of *Wharton*, denoted by the anonymous Person who came from *Rome*, it is a notorious and firm Truth, that the King my Master, out of a religious and scrupulous Delicacy, would never admit that Lord, as all his Court is Witness, nor would know any thing of the Contents of his Credential Letters, nor of the Projects with which it is supposed that Duke was dispatched and sent from *Rome* to *Madrid* ; nor can any kind of Consequence be drawn from his having had some Conversations with the Duke of *Ripperda*, because of the little Reflection, which it is already said, was made thereupon ; if, after all, that be what Mr. *Stanhope* would have understood by the Ministers of the King with whom the said Duke of *Wharton* treated and conferred.

‘ His Majesty is likewise ignorant of what is offered to be inferred from the *Muscovite* Ships, upon which Mr. *Stanhope* returns to the Charge in his Letter, and what Intelligence or Relation they
‘ might

‘ might have had with the Enemies of his *Britannick*
 ‘ Majesty’s Government; knowing nothing more,
 ‘ than that they came into and went out of the Ports
 ‘ of *Spain*, on the same foot as the Merchant-Ships
 ‘ of other Nations frequent them.

‘ Most true it is, that in that Interval of time
 ‘ Ships of War were fitted out, and Troops were
 ‘ ordered to march to the Coasts of *Biscay* and *Ga-*
 ‘ *licia*, because the King my Master found him-
 ‘ self obliged to make those Dispositions in conse-
 ‘ quence of the certain Advices he received of the
 ‘ naval Armaments which were preparing with so
 ‘ great Diligence in *England*; it not being natural,
 ‘ that his Majesty should leave the Coasts of *Spain*
 ‘ nearest to *England* intirely open, and the Docks
 ‘ at *St. Andero* exposed to be attacked and burnt
 ‘ again.

‘ Mr. *Stanhope*, in his 5th Article, goes on with
 ‘ the Discourses on the Confidence which the Duke
 ‘ of *Ripperda* made to him, as well as to the Am-
 ‘ bassador of *Holland*, M. *Vandermeer*, of an Offen-
 ‘ sive Alliance with the Emperor; to which I am
 ‘ to answer, That altho’ the King my Master has
 ‘ never explained himself upon that matter, yet
 ‘ the Falshood of such a Declaration was at first
 ‘ refuted and repelled on the part of the Imperial
 ‘ Court, by assuring the *English* Minister at *Vienna*
 ‘ of the contrary, and even at the Court of *London*,
 ‘ by the Emperor’s Minister who actually resides
 ‘ there. For the rest, if the King my Master did
 ‘ not presently separate and remove the Duke of
 ‘ *Ripperda* from his Employments, and even if
 ‘ he did not alledge the false Declaration of a se-
 ‘ cret Treaty and offensive Alliance for one of
 ‘ the Causes of his Disgrace, he had well-grounded
 ‘ Reasons for not doing it, with which his Majesty
 ‘ did not think himself obliged to acquaint the
 ‘ Publick.

‘ As

‘ As to the Company of *Ostend*, which Matter
‘ makes the Contents of the 6th, 7th, and 8th
‘ Articles of Mr. *Stanhope*’s Letter, wherein it is
‘ affirmed, without giving any proof, that the Na-
‘ vigation and Commerce of that Company in the
‘ *East-Indies*, are Infractions and Violations of the
‘ 5th and 6th Articles of the Treaty of *Munster*,
‘ and of several others subsequent and relative to it,
‘ it is notorious that his Imperial Majesty always
‘ wished to enter into some reasonable Accommo-
‘ dation upon the Commerce of that Company, and
‘ that he still actually makes Overtures to the Court
‘ of *France*, the King my Master having offered
‘ his Mediation, with design to quiet the Opposi-
‘ tions and Disputes shewn against that Navigation :
‘ The States General of the United Provinces would
‘ not admit his Majesty’s Offer, declaring, without
‘ any Reserve, to the Emperor’s Minister at the
‘ *Hague*, that they would not hearken to, nor ad-
‘ mit of any Proposition on the part of his Impe-
‘ rial Majesty, unless before all things, the Patent
‘ granted to the *Ostend* Company were revoked.
‘ Wherefore if that Company has been, as Mr.
‘ *Stanhope* says, a Stumbling-Block to Peace, it
‘ was that Republick which placed it. For the
‘ rest, if his Majesty did declare that he was of a
‘ Sentiment contrary to the said Company, at the
‘ time when he was still at War and Enmity with
‘ the Emperor, it ought not to be deemed strange
‘ or new, that he has changed his Opinion, after
‘ having made Peace, and united himself with his
‘ Imperial Majesty, by the Ties of the most sin-
‘ cere Friendship. Of this the Treaties of Peace fur-
‘ nish us with Examples at every step; and in these
‘ latter times no Hesitation or Doubt has been made,
‘ for attaining the Benefit of Peace and Tranquility,
‘ of disposing not only of a single Commerce, but
‘ even of whole Kingdoms and States.

‘ As

‘ As to the refusing Entrance into the Ports of
 ‘ *Spain* to the Ships of Admiral *Jennings’s* Squa-
 ‘ dron, and the taking away the Duke of *Ripperda*
 ‘ by force, two Points which Mr. *Stanbope* has
 ‘ touched together in the 9th and 10th Articles,
 ‘ exaggerating them as manifest Infractions of Trea-
 ‘ ties, and of the Rights of Nations, and that they
 ‘ cannot be looked upon but as Acts of Hostility,
 ‘ as well as the Violence done to the Consul of the
 ‘ *British* Nation at *St. Sebastian*, by forcing him to
 ‘ leave it and go to *Salamanca* ; adding to all this,
 ‘ for a Proof of Hostilities committed against his
 ‘ *Britannick* Majesty’s Allies, the Order given for
 ‘ making the *Dutch* Ships of War depart the Port
 ‘ of *Cadiz*, and not permitting for the future any
 ‘ *English* or *Dutch* Man of War to enter ; his Ma-
 ‘ jesty has commanded me to answer thereto in or-
 ‘ der : First, That the Refusal to let any Ships of
 ‘ War of Admiral *Jennings’s* Squadron enter the
 ‘ Ports, was most justly founded on the Silence
 ‘ which the said Admiral, as well as Mr. *Stanbope*,
 ‘ tho’ requir’d, kept touching the Arrival, Desti-
 ‘ nation, and Designs of the said Squadron. An In-
 ‘ attention which the greatest Powers have never
 ‘ shewn to any Sovereign State how inconsiderable
 ‘ soever ; and therefore the entertaining of violent
 ‘ Suspicions and Apprehensions could not be avoid-
 ‘ ed, seeing the pacifick and amicable Assurances,
 ‘ given by Admiral *Jennings* to the Governours of
 ‘ the Ports, who have no Authority to judge of
 ‘ them, to admit them, or to rely upon them, could
 ‘ at best take place only in certain unexpected Ca-
 ‘ ses, and on Occasions, where, at the sight of the
 ‘ evident Danger of a Ship which should implore
 ‘ Shelter in a Port, the Governours might judge
 ‘ what was proper to be done ; but as for a Squa-
 ‘ dron of Ships of War, which it was notorious
 ‘ had been fitted out and sent with Land-Forces, on

‘ a known and premeditated Design, such particu-
 ‘ lar Assurances to Governours for entering Ports
 ‘ on the frivolous Pretext of watering and taking
 ‘ in Provisions, so few days after they had come
 ‘ out of their own Ports, are more than suspicious,
 ‘ and may be termed injurious between two Powers
 ‘ who are at Peace, and who have actually their
 ‘ Ministers in their respective Courts, by whose
 ‘ means a frank Declaration might and ought to
 ‘ have been sent of the Destination and Designs of
 ‘ such an Armament, even before Admiral *Jen-*
 ‘ *nings* appeared on the Coasts of *Spain*.

‘ As to the taking away of the Duke of *Ripperda*,
 ‘ the King my Master made known, more than he
 ‘ thought he was obliged to do, to all the foreign
 ‘ Ministers who were then at his Court, the Mo-
 ‘ tives and Circumstances of that Step, incontestable
 ‘ with his Right and Royal Authority; so that
 ‘ it cannot be considered as an Infraction of the
 ‘ Rights of Nations, from the time his Majesty
 ‘ had declared, after a full Cognisance and Advice
 ‘ of the Royal Council of *Castile* had preceeded,
 ‘ that the Duke of *Ripperda* was guilty of High
 ‘ Treason, and consequently incapable of enjoying
 ‘ any Immunity or Sanctuary whatsoever.

‘ As to the pretended Violence with which Mr.
 ‘ *Stanhope* says the Consul whom his *Britannick*
 ‘ Majesty designed for *St. Sebastian*, was forced to
 ‘ leave it, and retire to *Salamanca*, Mr. *Stanhope*
 ‘ knows very well, that no Consul, of what Na-
 ‘ tion soever, is admitted, till previously he has
 ‘ obtained the King’s Consent and Cedula of Ap-
 ‘ probation; even in the Ports where there are esta-
 ‘ blished Consuls: but in that of *St. Sebastian*, be-
 ‘ sides the fore-mentioned Reason, there is another
 ‘ yet stronger, for neither the *English* Nation, nor
 ‘ any other, have ever enjoyed the Right or ob-
 ‘ tained the Usage of having a Consul in the Pro-
 ‘ vince

vince of *Guipuscoa* ; so that not only it ought not to be thought strange that such a Consul was refused Admission, and that he was ordered to retire elsewhere, but likewise his Majesty might justly resent, that on this Occasion the same thing is alledged that has been on others, the having given Exclusion to Consuls of the *British* Nation in the same Quarter, and that the same Papers are offered him again.

What Mr. *Stanhope* finally adds, about the Order given at *Cadiz* for making the *Dutch* Men of War depart that Port, and not permitting for the future any *English* or *Dutch* Ship of War to enter it, was and is intirely justified by what has already been signified above, in speaking of the Ships of the Squadron commanded by Admiral *Jennings* ; and the States-General ought not to be surprized at this Novelty, it being so natural that they should be treated without any Difference from the *English*, after their Accession to the Treaty of *Hanover*.

Mr. *Stanhope*, in the 11th Article in his Letter grows warm, and explains himself with some Passion upon what the Marquis *de la Paz* intimated to him in his Letter of the 30th of *September* last, with respect to Money distributed in *Holland*, in *Sweden*, and in *Prussia* ; and, it not being a new thing, or unworthy a Prince or State, to give or receive Money in return for the Services done each other, it cannot be thought the Marquis *de la Paz* had an Intention to blame Mr. *Stanhope* for it, nor to complain of it by Order of the King my Master ; but only to answer Mr. *Stanhope* as to the Account he would ask of his Majesty, on the part of the King of *Great Britain*, touching the Subsidies sent the Emperor.

When Mr. *Stanhope* tells the Marquis *de la Paz* in the 12th Article, that respectively on the Conduct

Conduct of Admiral *Hofier* in the *West-Indies* he could give no Answer, because his *Britannick* Majesty had not yet received any Advice of the least thing among those which gave ground to the Complaint of the King my Master, he did not remember probably what he had said to the *Marquis de la Paz*, the 23d of *October*, the Court being at the *Escorial*, how he had received Order by an *Expres*s to communicate to his Majesty the Operations of the Squadron, commanded by Admiral *Hofier* in the *Indies*, but that he had not hastened to do it, knowing the King my Master was already informed of them directly; wherefore it cannot well be conceived, for what Reason his *Britannick* Majesty should be so much surprized at *Spain's* forming Complaints of such a nature. The King my Master was more justly surprized, that such glaring Hostilities should be pretended to be justified, by the Pretext that Justice has not been done upon the repeated Complaints of Mr. *Stanhope*, with respect to so many *English* Ships, which, 'tis exaggerated, have been taken and pillaged by the *Guarda-Costas* of his Majesty in the *Indies*, it being evident that no specifick Case of any such Prizes has yet been seen. What is certain, is, that *English* Ships, and others of other Nations, which have been attacked and taken in those Seas, were contraband and good Prize, because of the unlawful Commerce they exercised or endeavoured to exercise in the *Indies*. The very Places only where they were met and taken, is a sufficient Proof of a Navigation forbid by the Tenour of Treaties: It is therefore necessary to believe, that the Stay of Admiral *Hofier* in the *Indies*, has no other view than to protect a prohibited and contraband Commerce, and so contrary to what has been so solemnly stipulated and treated; for as to lawful and allowed Commerce, his Majesty

‘ Majesty has hitherto let the *English* Nation enjoy
 ‘ with all safety the notorious Advantages and Pre-
 ‘ ferences with which the King my Master had dis-
 ‘ tinguished them from all other Nations, tho’ on
 ‘ that side that Benefit has likewise been abused, by
 ‘ the extending it there much beyond the Conces-
 ‘ sions stipulated.

‘ The longer Stay of the *English* Squadron in those
 ‘ Seas will therefore be a Continuance of voluntary
 ‘ Hostilities authorized by his *Britannick* Majesty,
 ‘ and as such the King my Master does already and
 ‘ will look upon them.

‘ After all that has been said, it remains only to
 ‘ make a Comparison between the Force which la-
 ‘ boured Pretexts and groundless Suspicions may
 ‘ have, and real and direct Hostilities, with the
 ‘ Continuance of which we are still threatned. By this
 ‘ Examination a Judgment may be formed of the
 ‘ Sincerity and Impartiality of what has been exhi-
 ‘ bited by Mr. *Stanhope*. All reasonable and indif-
 ‘ ferent Persons will see and acknowledge, that it
 ‘ is the King my Master, who is attacked contrary
 ‘ to all Reason and Justice, and who already actu-
 ‘ ally suffers such notorious Prejudices, by the hin-
 ‘ drance given to the Fair of *Panama*, and to the
 ‘ Return of his Armaments of the Flota and Gal-
 ‘ leons, in which the *English* Nation itself, with all
 ‘ others, who are interested in the Course of that
 ‘ Commerce, suffer jointly with his Majesty’s Sub-
 ‘ jects the great Damages resulting from the Delay
 ‘ of those Returns.

‘ The King my Master thinks himself justified
 ‘ before God and Man, to repel these Injuries and
 ‘ Hostilities with all the Power that the Divine
 ‘ Goodness and Providence has put into his hands;
 ‘ and to have a Right to require of his Allies the
 ‘ Succours they are engaged to furnish.

‘ His Majesty, who with no less Ardour and
 ‘ Sincerity than his Allies, has always desired the

Peace and Tranquility of *Europe*, would be satisfied with the Expressions with which Mr. *Stanhope* concludes his Letter on the same Desires and Inclinations of his *Britannick* Majesty, whenever the Words should have the least Shadow of Relation with the Facts. The King my Master protests and assures, that he has never done nor sought to do any wrong to the *English* Nation, and that all the Designs imputed to him against his *Britannick* Majesty and his Dominions are invented, and without his Knowledge. But his Majesty declares likewise at the same time, that in the violent State to which things are at last reduced by the Ministry of *England*, he neither can nor will hearken any more to any Complaint, Instance, or Accommodation, while his *Britannick* Majesty shall be with Arms in hand, in the Dominions of his Majesty, as he is effectually with one Squadron on the Coasts and Seas of *Spain*, and with another in those of the *Indies*, and while Hostilities are continued in the said Dominions, as is threatned by the longer Stay of the *English* Squadron in the Seas of *America*, especially when it is notorious, that for reinforcing the said Squadron four other Ships of War are fitting out in *England*, and two others for that which is in the Seas and on the Coasts of *Spain*.

I have the Honour to be, with the most perfect Consideration, My Lord,

*Your Excellency's most humble,
and most obedient Servant,*

De Pozobueno.

In proportion as Affairs grew imbroiled, the Duke *de Ripperda's* Hopes increased; but when they were at the height, that is, when he look'd upon it as a thing certain, that the *Spanish* Ministry could not long manage Affairs without him, some Friends of his sent him word, that having with difficulty obtained leave, they would ere long come and spend

a few hours with him. His Excellency received this Message with much Satisfaction, and returned for Answer, that much greater Misfortunes than those he had undergone, could not break the Spirits of a Man happy as he was in such faithful Friends. He spoke of this Incident to his Mistress, and to his faithful Servant, as of a good Omen, with respect not only to Liberty, but Power; he persuaded himself, that the *Spaniards* saw at last their Error, and that to prevent Poverty and Confusion, it was determined to call him to Court. No wonder if this specious Vision delighted the Thoughts of an ambitious Man, whose Fancy was ever on the wing, to whom Solitude was the greatest Curse, and in whose opinion Happiness could never subsist independent of Power.

But if his Dreams pleased him, he did not enjoy them long, the Presence of his Friends serving to dissolve that Charm, into which, by the strength of his Imagination, he had converted their Message. They came at their time, dined with him, and after Dinner was over, and they had kindly condoled with him on his present Circumstances, they frankly told the Duke, that they saw but little hopes of his obtaining his Liberty, the rather because what he fancied would have most contributed thereto, seem'd to them the chief Obstacle in procuring it. In a word, like true Friends, they dealt with him plainly, and represented to him the Differences between the Courts of *Madrid* and *Great Britain*, as the great Source of his Disasters. At this, the Duke lost his Temper a little. He said, he ought to be allowed some Judgment in his own Affairs, and that if he had any, the Distresses of the *Spanish* Ministry must be the Key which opened the Gate of his Prison. Your Excellency, reply'd one of his Friends, hath too much Knowledge, and too much Experience, not to be a proper Judge in all things, and especially in your own Affairs; if you had the

same Lights which other People have, but for want of these, Sir, you mistake. For want of these, permit me to say, without putting you in a passion, you take things to be easy, which are in themselves impracticable, and believe those things will be the necessary Consequences of certain Measures, which we know but too well can never follow from them. We are sensible of the Injuries that have been done your Excellency; we are acquainted with the great Services you have render'd *Spain*; and we are not ignorant of the still greater Advantages which you hope to procure for her. But, Sir, we know too in what light you are considered by your Enemies, and in what light they represent you to their Majesties. The *English* Minister, on whom you so much depend, daily presents Memorials which support the Charges brought against you, by those who have supplanted you. In all probability, a War will follow between the two Crowns, which the King will be made to believe, is the Effects either of your Treachery or Indiscretion. Consider, Sir, that this must unite him more closely to those who at present enjoy his Confidence, and must remove him still farther than ever from all Thoughts of employing you. As Friends, we are constrained to tell you this; as Flatterers, we needed only to have concurr'd in your own Notions, we should then have deserved your Anger, whereas now we can only bear it.

Is it thus then, reply'd the Duke, that the *Spaniards* reward a Man who has served them so effectually? Is it thus that they pay the Toil with which I laboured to establish that Manufactory that still flourishes in the very same Place where I am imprisoned? Is it thus they recompense my painful Embassy at *Vienna*? and is this all I am to expect for that Diligence with which I discharged as many Offices as would have embarass'd six of their ablest Statesmen?

Stateſmen? Well! all this I can the more eaſily bear, becauſe I foreſaw it ; I knew that it muſt be one day or other my Fate, becauſe, being a Stranger, and having all things in my power, I did nothing to deſerve it. Thoſe, who perſecute me, muſt know this beſt, and to them I would appeal, if I might be aſſured they would ſpeak impartially their Sentiments. But there are two things exceedingly chagrin me. The firſt is, that I muſt be content to lie under the Imputations heaped upon me, having no way left of demonſtrating my Innocence. The other, that I muſt be buried under the Ruins of my former Fortune, without having ſo much as a Chance for overcoming my Enemies, or at leaſt making this lazy, proud, and ungrateful Nation ſenſible of their Folly, in treating thus a Man equally capable of protecting or of plaguing them. Theſe! theſe! are my Tortures, and not the Walls which confine me ; I deſpiſe the Rage of my Enemies, and fear only the Tumults in my own Breſt. But perhaps——perhaps——I ſay no more ; I think the reſt ; and it depends on Providence, whether I ſhall ſuffer moſt from the Ingratitude of the *Spaniards*, or the *Spaniards* from the Senſe I have of their Ingratitude.

His Friends were amazed at this Diſcourſe, and believing that the News they had brought him had for a time prejudiced his Senſes, took their leaves ſoon after, and left him under the higheſt Concern. They carried their Tenderneſs ſo far, as on their Return to Court, to repreſent to ſome Perſons of Diſtinction the Hardſhips under which the Duke *de Ripperda* laboured, and the Danger there was that a Man of ſo warm and violent a Temper might take ſome Step, which might not do much honour to thoſe who had been buſieſt in his Proſecution. How well ſoever they intended, theſe Representations had like to have proved fatal to the Duke.

The Ministry resolving with themselves, in case what had been suggested appeared to have been true, to place Guards in the Duke's Chamber, or to transport him to *Pampelona*; either of which would have mortified him excessively. But his own Conduct warded this Blow. For upon a Letter of Inquiry, directed to the Under-keeper of *Sevogia*, he returned so favourable a Report, that all Thoughts of this kind were laid entirely aside, and the Representations before-mentioned were looked upon only as Artifices.

The Duke, when he had thoroughly consider'd what his Friends had said, and compared it with the Advices that were brought him daily from Court by his Servant, began to despair of ever seeing himself at liberty, the Thoughts of which render'd him altogether inconsolable; so that notwithstanding the Caresses of the fair *Castilian*, he grew more melancholy than ever, spoke little, made short Meals, and, which in all his Misfortunes he had never done, slept uneasily, and very seldom. It is impossible to express the Tenderness of the *Castilian*, or the excessive Concern of his Valet, at the sight of this Alteration in his Behaviour; they tried every Method to divert him, they doubled their Diligence in serving him, and they express in the most affectionate Terms their earnest Desires, to do, if it were possible, still more than they did. The Duke appeared to be much affected therewith, and sometimes endeavoured to put on an Air of Gaiety, but he could not support it long; and then his next Fit of Sadness was deeper, and more affecting than otherwise.

One day, when his Excellency was in a deep Réverie, the fair Lady could not help complaining, that he kept his Sorrows too much to himself. *If I do*, said the Duke with a Sigh, *it is because I think it to no purpose to reveal them. I am weary of*

of being here, I wish to be somewhere else, I am by nature impatient of being long in one Place. Both his Confidants assured him, that they were very sorry for his Situation, and that there was nothing they would not hazard to do him service. I believe it, said the Duke, and I believe also, that my getting from hence is not an impossible thing. He then explained to them the Situation of the Castle, and the Country round about it, with which he was extremely well acquainted; assured them, that nothing would be more easy than to get safely to a Sea-Port, provided he was once without the Walls, which he owned was the only thing he knew not how to contrive, and which he therefore would leave entirely to them. The Lady promised him all that was in her power, and assured him, she would never separate herself from him, let his Condition be what it would. His Valet said, that the Business of his Life was to please his Lord, and that when he could no longer please him, he should think he had no farther Business with Life. The Duke testified the highest Pleasure on receiving these Assurances; his Melancholy insensibly wore off, and his Thoughts being now imployed on a new and agreeable Object, his usual Quickness of Understanding and wonted Facility of overcoming Difficulties returned.

From the time they entered into these Consultations, they found it necessary for them all to alter their Conduct. The Duke appeared more attentive than ever to the Lady, and kinder than usual to his Servant. Whereas the Lady visited him less frequently, seemed indifferent when with him, and spoke carelessly of him when absent. The Valet too expressed no great Liking to his troublesome Office, and they both dissembled so handsomly, that the Keeper took pains to reconcile them to the Duke, and to engage them not to desert him in his Afflictions. Things being safe within, the Duke began

first to operate without doors; the Bulk of his Effects were long before convey'd out of *Spain*, and now what was left was converted into Bills of Exchange on Merchants in *Holland* and *England*. Horses were also bought at *Madrid* fit for such a Journey, and care was taken to find a Person faithful, and knowing enough to be their Guide from the Castle to the Sea, to whose care the Horses were committed, and who had it in charge to provide whatever was necessary for the Journey. The Duke himself foresaw, that there was no going out by the great Gate, because his Lodgings lying at the back of the Castle, he would have been obliged to have traversed various Apartments, with inexpressible Hazard. This Mischief the Lady removed, by conveying out of the Keeper's Apartment the Key of a little Flower-Garden, into which the Valet's Bed-Chamber look'd. In this Garden he and she prepared a Silk Ladder, long enough to reach from the Wall to the Ground; and when they had prepared, they hid it under a Place where the Gardeners kept their Tools. They next removed their most valuable Effects into the Duke's Bed-chamber, and all things happily finished, they waited only for Moon-light Nights to attempt the Execution of their Enterprize. An Enterprize equally rash and dangerous in itself, and which nothing but their Success could have rendered feasible in any wise Man's Opinion. But what is it that a disappointed Statesman, a Woman in love, or a faithful Servant, will not attempt?

As soon as the Nights grew favourable to their Scheme, all things were put in order, and more than ordinary Care was taken by the several Persons concerned to remove by their Behaviour all Jealousy of their Intent. In this they succeeded to their Wish, the Keeper conceiving them to be much less united than they had formerly been, and
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having no notion of the Possibility there was of the Duke's getting away, considering the Condition he was in. His Attacks of the Gout, as they were frequent and violent, had left a great Stiffness in his Limbs, and as he was at this time hardly recovered from a Fit, it seemed impracticable, and indeed it would have been so, for him to have crossed the Apartments to the outer Gate. All therefore who had any Concern in keeping him, looked upon it as a very easy Task. For tho' they had a very high Opinion of his Skill and Address, yet they had no Idea of his conjuring, without which they thought he could never pass the high Walls of the Castle. This Security of theirs appeared so plainly in their Words and Actions, that it mightily encouraged the Duke and his Confidants in carrying on their Design.

The Evening being fixt for this extraordinary Exploit, the Duke retired a little sooner than usual to his Apartment, where the fair *Castilian* lay concealed. The first thing they did, was to remove all their valuable Effects into the Garden behind their Apartment, where having made them up into a Bale, the Valet, with much difficulty, fixed the Ladder of Ropes on the other side of the Wall, to the Top of which he easily ascended by the help of the Gardener's Ladder. When he was come down he went to the Place of Rendezvous, and there, to his inexpressible joy, found his Guide with his Horses, and Post-Chaise. He brought the Man with him back to the Castle, made him ascend the Wall where their Moveables were placed ready pack'd up, and were by him brought down to the Valet, who went with them to the Chaise, leaving the Man to wait for the Duke. These Transactions of course took up a great deal of time, but inasmuch as there was not the least Danger of their being overheard, they did not hurry themselves; and to this we ought chiefly to ascribe that Facility with
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which they executed their Project. All things fixt, the Lady went to the Duke's Apartment, and brought him with her into the Garden. He was extremely well pleased with the Account she gave him of the Manner in which hitherto the Affair had been conducted. But when he came to consider the Height of the Wall, he was not a little disconcerted. I should, said he, find no difficulty in descending, but stiff and feeble as I am, I shall never be able to get to the Top. With much ado, the Lady persuaded him to make a Trial. At her Request, he, with much pain, clambered up the first Steps of the Ladder, where she desired him to halt and rest himself. She then mounted the Ladder herself, took the Duke's Feet in her Hands, and, at the hazard of her Life, lifted them by Turns from Step to Step, till in an Hour's time he got to the top of the Wall; from whence, as he predicted, he descended with much greater ease, and after him the fair *Castilian*. When they were got down into the Field, they rested themselves for some time, and when the Duke had recruited his Spirits, the Lady and his Guide assisted him in getting to the Place where the Horses and Chaise waited for him, and where his Valet had already put all things in order. The rest of the Journey was no less prosperous than the beginning; insomuch that they arrived at *St. Andero*, not only without Hazard, but without Alarm; and the same Evening got on board a Ship in the Road, the Master of which put to Sea instantly; so that the next day by Noon, they were absolutely out of the reach of their Enemies.

As for the Under-keeper of the Castle of *Segovia*, he did not discover the Duke's Escape till all Pursuit was in a manner vain. He saw his Apartment shut at eleven, but as the Duke very often lay a-bed late, and appeared the Day before to be extremely indisposed, the Keeper, far from suspecting any thing,

thing, imagined, that the Duke was worse, and therefore gave Orders, that no Noise should be made near his Lodgings, nor any body pretend to knock at his Door; but when it grew towards One, and the Duke's Servant did not appear, he was astonished, and considering how far his own Safety was concerned, ordered the Door to be broke open, which discovered what use the Duke had made of the extraordinary Indulgence shewn him, and how adroitly he had rescued himself from his Captivity, notwithstanding the severe Attacks of his Gout, which were looked upon as so many natural Fetters, that would effectually chain him to the Place of his Confinement.

In this Situation, the Keeper did the wisest thing he could do, he gave immediate Advice of the Duke's Escape to the Ministry; and they no sooner had this News, than they dispatched Officers of Justice on all sides. These upon some false Information or other, imagined the Duke was to take shipping at *Cadiz*, and on this Surmise made all the haste thither they could. But when they came thither, and began to make the necessary Inquiries, they were not a little astonished to hear that it was more probable, that the Duke was in *Holland*, some Persons in that City having received Notice, that the Ship, with a fair Wind, had past the *Streights* three Days before. Upon this, all Search ceased, and these People returned instantly to *Madrid*.

It is impossible to describe the Stir this Accident occasioned in the Capital of the *Spanish* Monarchy. All the Inhabitants of *Madrid* are Politicians by Profession, and assemble in Groupes, in the Cool of the Evening, to settle the Affairs of the Nation, and to give Laws to *Christendom*. Within an hour after the News was known at Court, a hundred extraordinary Assemblies were held in the Streets, and nothing was to be heard; but *He is gone, the Duke*
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de Ripperda *has made his Escape! He has found a way to run notwithstanding his Gout.* Then they ran over all the Instances of these sort of Escapes that had ever come to their Knowledge. Some went as high as the Escape of *Antonio Perez*, Minister to King *Philip II.* Others commended the Wisdom of the Duke *de Lerina*, who to save his Head, cover'd it with a Cardinal's Cap. But most contented themselves with enumerating the Wonders of the present Reign, the Desertion of the *Constable of Castile*; the Disgrace of the Duke *de Medina Celi*; the Ruin of the two Cardinal-Ministers; and all the lesser Occurrences of those Years teeming with strange Events, immediately succeeding the Death of their last Prince of the *Austrian Line*. The Sum of all was, that this Affront was not to be endured, and that the flying Minister was to be retaken wheresoever he was heard of. But wise People thought in another manner, they look'd upon this Escape as a piece of good Luck to the Ministry, and thought they had full as much reason to be satisfied therewith as the Duke himself.

The Duchess *de Ripperda*, and her Son, were among the number of those who were best pleased with this extraordinary Event; they could not divest themselves of all Regard for a Person in so near a Relation to them, and therefore they were extremely rejoiced at the Thoughts of seeing him in such a Situation, as rendered him his own Master, and left them at liberty to conduct their Affairs as they thought fit. The Duchess however appeared in publick not a little concerned at the manner of his Flight, and especially as to the Circumstance of the *Castilian*. Whether it really chagrin'd her so much, may well be made a question, since the Duke could now no longer contribute to his Lady's Greatness or Reputation, which appeared the

the more independent, and the more strongly the Effects of her own Merit, both by his Absence, and by those Circumstances of his Escape, which seem'd to detract from that high Reputation which he had formerly attained. Be this as it would, the Duchess after a time resumed her old manner of conversing and living in the World, giving herself up entirely to Acts of Devotion and Charity, and to those Visits of Civility and Decency, which suited her Rank, without troubling herself about the Duke, or so much as giving ear to those Discourses which his future Exploits rais'd about him; so effectually does Disaster perform the Business of an Ecclesiastical Court, and divorce the unlucky, without the tedious Ceremonies of a legal Process.

What the real Sentiments of the Court were on the Duke's retiring could not then, nor can now be known. The common Opinion was, and perhaps it might be true, that his Escape did not displease the Ministry. Whether it did or did not, it certainly hurt the Nation. An ambitious quick-witted Statesman is equally dangerous, when in, and when out of Power, when at Liberty, and when in Prison. In respect of Justice, it is certain private Men have a Right to it as well as Societies; but in Equity, I am afraid the old Maxim will be held reasonable, — *Better one Man than a whole People.* It is a good Rule, *Summum Jus, summa Injuria.* *The Extremity of Justice is Injustice.* The common Interpretation is, that where an Offender is punished with the utmost Rigour, there Cruelty rather than Justice presides. But in Policy, I doubt the Construction will fall the other way. When an Issue is to be tried between one Man and the Society; doing him strict Justice may prove injurious to many. They were certainly to blame who advis'd the prosecuting the Duke *de Ripperda* without Proofs; but when this was done,

it ought to have been brought to a fair Conclusion: A solemn Trial, and a final Decision, had saved the King's Honour, and the Reputation of the Government. And tho' the Duke *de Ripperda* had been absolved of Treason, yet his Indiscretions might have been so censured, as to have justified his Imprisonment. His Removal would have been accounted for by that Censure, and his former Services might have been recompensed by an honourable Government in the *Indies*, where his stirring Genius, and the great Capacity he had for Trade, might have done much good, and could not possibly have done hurt. Perhaps, some may think, I deliver my Sentiments too freely. And why? Are not Ministers Men? Is not the Art of Governing a Science? Are not Discourses of this sort of all others the most useful? A *Spanish* Historian would reason freely upon *English* Affairs, and therefore why may not I upon the Affairs of *Spain*?

While the Duke *de Ripperda* was at Sea, he had time enough to make his Acknowledgments to those who had been instrumental in his Escape, who had now attached themselves to his Fortunes, and whose Dependence was solely on his Gratitude. As to the Lady, she loved him so tenderly, that all the Variations in his Temper, which were not a few, did not in the least abate either her Affection, or her Manner of expressing it. She was in Raptures when he was pleased to put on the Lover, she was submissive when he acted towards her like a Master, and patient when he play'd the Tyrant. His *French* Valet had a Fidelity founded a good deal in Interest, for as the Duke was very generous, and made him his Confident in Love and in Politicks, the Man had Wit enough to know he should never have a better Master, and considering also, that he had a Taste for Pleasure, and sometimes took great Liberties, saw little Prospect of his having an easier, and therefore

fore relied steadily on the Duke's Promises, as having no Temptation to rely on any other thing from as fair an Appearance. As for the *Spaniard*, he was the Entertainment of the whole Vessel. His Pockets were well lined with the Duke's Gold; and tho' his Habit did not speak him a Person of great Distinction, yet he created himself so upon the spot, took the Title of *Don*, strutted about upon the Deck as if he had been an Admiral, and in three days time gave the Duke to understand, that he expected a good Estate should be settled upon him, as soon as ever they set foot in *England*. Without question, that Nobleman intended nothing more than to have gratified him in such a manner as suited the Service he had done, and the Quality of him for whom it was done; but our *Spaniard* frustrated his kind Intentions by such an absurd Behaviour, and by such an excessive Profusion, that tho' he would never abandon him, yet he was obliged to restrain him to his Board and a weekly Allowance, with which being disgusted, he entered into the *Dutch* Service, where he still remains. During the Voyage all things went happily, the Weather was pleasant, the Wind fair, the Duke in high Spirits, and all the Company well pleased, because flattered with great Expectations from the known Generosity of him they had on board.

It so happened, that there was in the Vessel an *Irish* Officer, who had been in the *Spanish* Service, a Man in Years, whose Name was *Don Thomas* or *Tomaso Bourk*. He had Parts and Learning, which the Duke soon discovered, and therefore made him his principal Companion. This Gentleman had served in *Spain* near thirty Years, and had past thither with a Recommendation from the Duke of *Berwick*. He had been well known to all the Prime Ministers under King *Philip*, and was among the number of those who were employed to arrest the Duke de
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Medina Celi, which was looked upon to be a difficult piece of Service, and was performed with equal Fidelity and Spirit. As he was a single Man, and had lived frugally, he had saved Money, and being desirous of seeing his Relations, intended to go first into *Ireland*, and then to *London*, where he purposed to spend the Remainder of his Days. He had in his Youth a regular Education, and had never suffered that Learning he then acquired to rust for want of use: He had studied War as a Science, and looked on his Experience therein, in the same light a Trader considers his Skill in Commerce. Yet he was far from being a military Pedant, on the contrary, he was a little sceptical in his Notions; and tho' he confessed, that Safety was always the Work of Conduct, yet he believed, that the Success of the greatest Generals was very often due to Chance. His Conversation with the Ship's Crew was on general Subjects, and chiefly on those which they understood best. The first Day he avoided speaking to, or coming near the Duke of *Ripperda*, having known him personally; but the next Day, the Duke spoke to him of his own accord, and thenceforward they conversed freely, his Excellency being charmed to find a Man of such extensive Knowledge, and so capable of arguing with him on those Subjects on which he chose to discourse, and which, for private Reasons, he was desirous of viewing and considering in every possible Light.

This Don *Tomaso*, in consequence of his having been long in his Catholick Majesty's Service, had acquired a great Affection for the Royal Family, as also for the *Spanish* Nation. He always spoke of the former in terms of the utmost Respect, and of the latter, as of the most honourable People on the Face of the Earth. It is very probable, the Duke did not agree with him exactly in his Notions tho' he did not immediately discover so much. Yet he would sometimes

take an Opportunity of rallying his Companion on the high Admiration of his Friends the *Spaniards*, whom he affirmed to be a vicious, weak, untractable People; unable to do much in consequence of their own Abilities, and as unable to make a right and generous Use of the Abilities of Strangers. This, said the Duke, I speak perhaps out of prejudice. You know, my Friend, that a Man's Reason is oftner guided by his Passions, than they are by it. I am in the humour at present to depreciate a little the Credit of this haughty Nation, as you are in the humour of crying it up. Variety of Dispositions occasion a Harmony in Conversation, as a Variety of Instruments please us in a Concert. To amuse each other, is all we aim at here; you cannot pretend to conquer Provinces, for those to whom you think your self so much obliged; nor can I a miserable Exile, without Country, without Friends, without Money more than is necessary to subsist me, ever hope to prejudice those who have ruined me, even if I was so little a Christian as to desire it: But we may discourse of these things, you may draw a Picture of that great and powerful Nation, which you so much revere, and I may return you a few scatter'd Hints of the Flaws in the State of *Spain*, which you may either have overlook'd for want of Attention, or designedly past by out of a Tenderness for your beloved Friends.

As for me, Sir, returned the Gentleman, I shall very readily converse with you on what Subject you please; no Man can be more sensible than I, of the Honour you do me; and as you say, I know not any Point, which in a free Discourse can give more Pleasure than such a one as you have propos'd. I am very far from thinking, that there is any sort of Equality between that sort of Knowledge, which in my way of Living, I have pick'd up, and what you must stand possess'd of in consequence of the greater and better Lights

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you have received in respect to such Matters. But as all Men of Sense regulate their Opinions, according to the Degrees of their own Knowledge, so I think I am not very culpable, if I have fallen into any Mistakes, in consequence of the Observations I have my self made, and for want of being acquainted with those, which men in higher Stations of Life have continual Opportunities of making, besides the additional Advantage of having them made for them. I cannot help thinking, that the *Spanish* Monarchy is very powerful, when I consider the rich and spacious inland Provinces which she possesses. I call them Provinces, because I would lay no stress on their being stiled Kingdoms, as they generally are. *Navarre*, *Arragon*, the two *Castiles*, *Leon*, and *Estramadura*, are noble Countries, and far from being so poor as they are sometimes represented; though, without question, they might be render'd much more rich and populous than they are, which I suppose will be done in time. *Biscay*, *Austurias*, and *Galicia*, look upon the Ocean, and afford various Ports, which, tho' they cannot be called excellent, are many of them commodious, and very fit for Trade. On the *Mediterranean* again, lie the Kingdoms of *Andalusia*, *Grenada*, *Murcia*, *Valentia*, and the noble Principality of *Catalonia*. It cannot be denied, but many of these Countries abound with the Necessaries of Life, and all might abound with them, and doubtless will, when proper Measures are taken. I say nothing of the Islands possessed by the *Spanish* Crown, or of its Pretensions to certain Dominions in *Italy*, because I ground my Judgment on the natural Force of *Spain*, which I take to be rather diminished than increased, by the Adjunction of distant Dominions. On this account I conclude that she is now more powerful, or at least more formidable to her Neighbours, than she hath ever been since the days of *Charles V.* For now she
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hath not that Drain of the *Netherlands*, nor any of those hard-to-be-kept Sovereignties in *Italy*, which so much embarrassed her former Monarchs; and as she is freed from these Inconveniencies, so is she likewise delivered from another and a greater, the continual Fear of *France*, and the Pretensions of that Crown on Part of her Dominions, which, tho' not very valuable in themselves, yet would have been desperate Thorns in her side if possessed by such a Neighbour. I likewise reckon the late War, how ruinous soever it may at the first sight appear, a considerable Advantage to the *Spanish* Nation; inasmuch that it hath roused them from that Lethargy, in which they had lain so long, renewed their martial Spirit, and given them a better Taste in respect to Government, Trade, and the Sciences. I likewise think, that all I have advanced is fully supported by the mighty Efforts made by Cardinal *Alberoni*, which, I think, I may venture to affirm were brisker, and had a greater Probability of Success, than any thing undertaken by the three last *Austrian* Kings. On the whole, when I consider what *Spain* was at the Death of King *Charles II.* when I remember that the Garrison of so important a Place as *Gibraltar* did not consist of above 300 Men; when I remember the best Fortresses consisting of ruined Walls, mounted with here and there a rusty Cannon, and the Man thought an able Engineer, who knew how to fire them; and when I compare this with an Army of *Veterans*, a great number of strong Places, regular and well furnished Magazines, with several Squadrons of Ships, and Men of acknowledg'd Capacity in all Employments civil and military, that Crown paying regular Subsidies to foreign Princes, which heretofore stood in need of them, and advert likewise to the present State of things in the *Indies*, I grow almost confident, that I am not mistaken, but that *Spain* is in truth in a flourishing Condition, and that in half a Century

she will appear one of the greatest Powers, if not the principal Power in *Europe*.

I protest, said the Duke, you have said full as much in defence of your *Spaniards* as the Matter will bear, and I doubt a little more. But I confess till this moment I never heard of so strange a System as this, that the Power of *Spain* is increased by lopping off some of the finest Countries, in the best part of the World, and which you cannot but know is the everlasting View of the King and his Minister to re-acquire. I do indeed admit, that if they were to manage them as poorly as their Predecessors did, which yet it is very possible they may do, the uniting them once more to the *Spanish* Crown, may not much increase its Power, tho' it would certainly heighten its Lustre. For *Minorca*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, *Naples* and *Milan*, are certainly worth the having, and might be made to pay for more than their Keeping in proper hands. But be that as it will, the Point between you and I is the present Power of *Spain*, which I must distinguish into real and apparent. The latter may be, and I believe hath been, mightily increased by governing upon *French* Maxims; but then I presume to say, this hath not been the Case of the former. An active Minister may so shuffle, *Horse*, *Foot*, *Dragoons*, *Ships* of the *Line*, *Galleys*, and *Transports*, as to put the Mob of *Europe*, which by the way, takes in great part of its Inhabitants, into Amazement, and make them stand as much in awe of him, as the Folks at a Country Fair do of one who pretends to deal with the Devil. But wise Men will not be cheated even by a *political* *Jugler*; they know as well that great things cannot be done by an exhausted State, as that no Gold can be taken out of an empty Bag. And therefore whatever Tricks, whatever Pretences, these Hocus-Pocus Ministers may make use of, they will remain firm, and leave the Mountebank to pursue his Game till

till he makes himself ridiculous. Indeed I must grant you, that if any of the neighbouring States should be governed by Men of middling Parts, they might be imposed on, so far as to suffer an intriguing Minister to attain by Fraud what he durst not have attempted by Force; but then this is a Supposition only, and we are at present reasoning upon Facts. You have told me frankly your Thoughts of the Matter, perhaps I think as you do; but for the sake of Argument, I will endeavour to convince you of your Error, that is, I will undertake to prove, that *Spain* was never so weak as at present, and that nothing but the Mistakes of her Neighbours can furnish her with the Means of raising up her Head, and of becoming formidable again.

There is no doubt to be made, that the inland Kingdoms of *Spain* are spacious, and might be made rich and powerful; neither can it be affirmed that a Peninsula is ill seated for Trade, which on one side is washed by the *Ocean*, and on the other by the *Mediterranean*. But it is not the Extent or Properties of Countries, which makes their Princes considerable; for then the Possessors of *Asia Minor*, of the *Campagna di Roma*, of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, would be the most puissant Princes of the World. It is the number of People which render Governours formidable, and it is the want of People which hath always made *Spain* feeble. There are not at this day above five Millions in *Spain*, and the Minister who knows this, may very easily know whether what he is told of the Armies of *Spain*, ought to be depended upon or not. It is easy to frame a List of Battalions in a Country, where it may be very difficult to form them; nay, there may be actually so many Battalions on foot, as form a List, and yet the Force of the Army far inferiour to what such a List would incline a Man to think it.

I grant you, that the *Spanish* Troops are out of comparison better than they were at the death of *Charles II.* but I must tell you, that they were supposed in the time of Cardinal *Alberoni*, to be much more numerous than they really were. According to his List, they should have amounted to upwards of one hundred thousand Men: of these twenty thousand were in *Sicily*, and the Remainder were not enough to enable the King to look the Duke of *Berwick* in the face, when he invaded his Dominions with eighteen or nineteen thousand Men. The *Spanish* Fleet was said to consist of seventy Men of War of the Line; but the Catholick King would have had a good Bargain, if he had exchanged them all for half the number, or even for twenty-five *English* Ships. Thus you see the difference between Reality and Appearance. *Alberoni* could deal well enough with the Ministers of *France* and *Britain*; he kept them at bay many Months; but there was no deceiving either *Berwick* or *Bynne* so much as for a Day. There is, as you observe, a good Army in *Spain* at this time; and it is properly an Army of *Veterans*, since it consists of the Remains of those great Armies, which were set on foot in the beginning of this Century. But how shall this Army be recruited? or of what value will fresh Recruits be in comparison of the old Soldiers, who drop off daily? A new-raised Regiment may handle their Arms prettily; but the General will find himself mistaken, who depends on them anywhere but at a Review. *Spanish* Infantry will be always excellent, but they are not to be had. I do not think that six thousand could be kept up constantly, even with the greatest Care and strictest Discipline. As for mercenary Troops, they are dangerous and uncertain; and therefore, if no Means be found to render *Spain* more populous, its natural Force can never be greater than in former

mer times: And as it is now less populous than ever, its natural Strength must be sunk, tho' by ministerial Skill Appearances may be preserved. As to what you remarked, with respect to *France*, it hath a Semblance of Advantage, and that is all. For we have already seen one War between the two Crowns, and very probably may see another. A lasting Peace cannot be obtained but on condition that the *Spaniard* acts so as to serve the Interest of *France*; and what good, dear Sir, can result from becoming a Province? All these Notions may do well enough for Amusement; but whoever would shew, that *Spain* is in a flourishing Condition, must begin by shewing how her Inhabitants increase.

In the next place, the Genius, Temper, or Disposition of the People must be considered. A State is more or less powerful, as the People are free, active, and intelligent. This makes the difference between the People in *Switzerland*, and the Subjects of the State of *Venice*; the former awe Kings themselves; the latter live in Cities, which grow daily too wide for them, and with much difficulty find a way to spread themselves thinly on the face of a Country, which would be over-peopled if in other hands. But, my Friend, can there be a People in the World of a Temper less fitted to acquire or to preserve Grandeur than the *Spaniards*, though they so much desire it? Will hard Words defeat Armies? Or will high Looks set them above their Neighbours? Will playing on the Guitar fit the Ground for Corn? Or will talking of News do the Mechanick's Business? Are the profuse Gallantry, the solemn Indolence, the haughty Ignorance of their Grandees, Qualities fit for Statesmen? Or can you believe, that the tedious Delays of that Court turn to their advantage in Negotiations with Men of Sense and Penetration? No, my Friend, *Italian*

Slowness is long ago understood, and therefore their Pupils the *Spaniards*, ought to leave it off. Honour, Wealth, and Plenty are attainable in all Places, by the same means and by no other. Hence in Countries where we see the Nobility well educated, the Trades-people active and diligent, and the poorer sort indefatigably industrious, there we never fail to discover the Consequences of these things in a full Treasury, a well disciplined-Militia, and a competent Number of Ships of War and for Trade. But where the Nobility are over-run with Vices, where the middle sort of People are lazy, and the meanest of the People idle, there let the Country be what it will, the State must be poor, its Land-force feeble, and that by Sea contemptible. I will admit, that a Minister may by his Address palliate these things; nay, he may so manage matters, as to disguise the Poverty, Weakness, and evil State of his Country's Affairs; but this I am certain, that he can never mend them, but by altering the Temper of the Inhabitants, which he must pursue steadily, tho' he does it by degrees. If this can be effected, if the Nobility can be brought to relish a sort of Life agreeable to their Titles, and to value themselves on the Possession of those Virtues by which they were acquired: If those immediately below them can be taught to aspire in an honourable manner, and if the Bulk of the People can be persuaded, that Industry, like Virtue, will be its own Reward, not a new Face, but a new State of things will appear. But where this cannot be done, all political Expedients, tho' like empirical Medicines, they may do honour for a time to those who devise them, yet will they do mischief at last, by persuading those who are diseased, that they enjoy sound Health, and thereby hindering them from considering of proper Remedies, or of applying them when suggested. Now the present Mode

Mode in *Spain* is so far from being favourable to a Reformation, that on the contrary it encourages their old Errors, and will superinduce new ones. It has added Vanity to Pride, and a Spirit of conquering to an Inability of keeping. Judge you then, Sir, whether she is become, or is likely to become more formidable, or rather whether she will not every day be less so. It is true a Paralytick with his Sword in his hand, may frighten Women and Children, but a Man of Spirit will pity him, and perhaps bear a little with him before he takes his Weapon from him.

There is a third Ingredient, which is no less necessary to the aggrandizing a People than either of the former, and that is fixed Maxims of Government, and the steady Pursuit of a solid rational Scheme. Without this, the Politicks of a Nation become a *Penelope's Web*, what is done to-day is undone to-morrow, and the People by a Succession of contradictory Measures have their Heads at last so turned, that they lose all Sense of Right and Wrong. The *Spanish* System of Government was formerly far from being absolute; on the contrary, like the rest of the *Gothick* Monarchies, if the King had a Title to his Rights, the People had the same to theirs. But when so many Kingdoms came to be possessed by *Charles V.* the Variety of their Privileges begat an inextricable Confusion. His Succession had in view the cutting off of them all; and if this Design had been steadily pursued by his Descendants, perhaps *Spain* had not suffered so much thereby, as it did by that temporizing Method, which came next in play. Under the following Reigns, *Spain* saw limited Monarchs and absolute Ministers. The former could do little; and the latter, as often as they failed of doing what they intended, laid the fault always on those Limitations which were felt only by their Masters. The Accession of the *House of Bourbon*, it was believed, would

would have produced an entire Change in these Matters; but we see it has been effected only in part, the *Catalonians* and the *Biscayneers* have lost their Privileges: but as for a uniform Constitution on Principles of Liberty, or of despotick Power, it is not, and in all probability it never will be fixed. To this is owing that Confusion which is apparent in the Direction of publick Affairs, and that languid Execution of Justice, which is so generally complained of. Old Forms have there the Weight of Laws, and the Breach of a Ceremonial is dangerous, even to a first Minister. The publick Revenue is in such a perplexed Situation, that to understand it, is the Work of a Man's Life, and to regulate it, would be the Work of half an Age. Whereas were this grand Point once settled, that all things should be so ordered, as might best conduce to the Service of the King, or the Good of the People, some Success might be hoped for. A Regulation might be begun in small things, and from thence be carried on to greater. This would at least set the Government on a right Foot, so that the People might be protected in what they have even if they could not be persuaded to act so, as to get more than they have. The Wealth of the *Indies* might then rest as upon a Banker's Compter, and not slip thro' as it does at present, almost as soon as it is told out, the bare preserving of Wealth would go a good way in making the People rich, and then Power might be the more easily procured. But for the modern Method of drawing together a little Money, and then applying it to some darling Project, tho' it may gratify some great Minds, and serve to swell a few private Fortunes, yet it must necessarily exhaust *Spain*, and keep them for ever poor. This, Sir, is my way of Reasoning, to which, were it proper, I could add, that the *Indies* are not so certain a Source of Riches, as they
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are commonly esteemed. If *Spain* will not mind her own Concerns in earnest, it is at least her Interest to be on good Terms with her Neighbours, lest a long Series of wrangling should at last make them implacable Enemies, when it would not be difficult for them to devise and execute such Schemes as might be fatal to a Monarchy powerful only in shew, and which might be both *speedily* and *grievously distressed*, by the cutting off of those *Succours* on which her very *Being* depends. Well, I say no more, but methinks I read it in your Countenance, that you are not so sanguine as you were.

This sort of Conversation served various purposes; it amused the Duke when he was not dispos'd to think more seriously, and it furnished him with useful Hints, or at least what he thought useful Hints when he was. For this reason he started many different Points of Inquiry, and either dropt or pursued them, as he found his Fellow-Passenger qualified or not qualified, to support the Discourse; which was the less troublesome to him, because the Gentleman was very explicit, telling him frankly when he was ignorant, as well as what he knew as to such things as had fallen under his Cognizance: Supposing without doubt that he had great honour done him in those free Conversations, and little dreaming of the Schemes that were then swimming in Duke *Ripperda's* Head. Among other Questions, the Duke one day asked him what he thought was the reason the *Moors* did not give the *Spaniard* as much Disturbance as they were wont to do, since the Correspondence they might maintain at *Gibraltar* might furnish them with the fairest Opportunities. You are in the right, Sir, answered the Officer, and I am extremely sorry for it. A Man, who has any regard to Religion, will always see with the utmost Concern the Honour of the Christian Name sacrificed to the Interest of any People. When Princes
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of the same Faith fall out, though they dispute after the Mode of Kings, yet ought they never to push their Aversion to each other so far as to hurt, or to dishonour their Religion. To the Breach of this Maxim the *Spaniards* owe the Loss of *Oran*, which had never been taken, if an *English* Squadron had not been on the Coast, and prevented the Supplies which were intended for that Garrison. And what great Use, said the Duke de *Ripperda*, could the Crown of *Spain* make of that Fortress? I ought, Sir, said the Gentleman, to ask that Question of you; but this I know, that it commands one of the finest Ports in the World, and to me it appears of no small importance to preserve such a Place from falling into the hands of the Infidels; who, tho' as you say, they do not at present mischief the *Spaniards* as much as they were wont to do, retain however the same irreconcilable Hatred to them, of which they would not fail to give them proofs, were it once in their power.

But, said the Duke, you forget to tell me why it is not in their power. Because, answered the Gentleman, it is a thing I cannot very easily do, I never had any Intercourse with the *Moors*, and therefore can have no Knowledge of their Councils; but if you would have my Opinion of the Matter, I shall give it you very readily, and that, dear Sir, said the Duke, is all I desire. Why then, continued Don *Tomaso*, I believe it arises on one hand from the Inability of the *Moors* themselves; and on the other from the Vigilance of the *Spaniards*. At this the Duke de *Ripperda* smiled. Well, Sir, said the Gentleman, you may laugh at what you have seen in *Spain*, but give me leave to tell you, that when I first came thither, it was in a much worse State than it is now. For the State was infinitely more feeble, and the People were not a grain less oppressed. Would you believe it, Sir, the
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menial Servants of King *Charles* II. of *Spain*, often deserted his Person, that they might dine at the *French* Ambassador's, their own Appointments being so miserably paid, that they scarce knew where to get a Dinner; and at this very time the Purveyor of Wax for the Palaces, purchased a Title and an Estate for three hundred thousand Crowns in ready Money. But to return to my Subject: The *Moors* in general have been for many Years past divided amongst themselves, and so eagerly employed in cutting each other's Throats, that, God be praised, they have had less time to think of doing mischief to the Christians. Besides Luxury and Corruption have found their way even into *Africk*, and by this means their Views are turned quite another way; that is in short, they thieve now in Peace, as their Fathers thieved in War. As for the piratical States again, their Affairs too have been in much disorder, and their having no longer any of the *Moors* amongst them, who were Natives of *Spain*, they are the less able to make Descents, and to carry away the Inhabitants of whole Villages, as they were wont to do. On the other side the *Spanish* Coast is by no means in that naked Condition that it was in former times, neither are the People so timid. In the beginning of this Century, there were scarce five Ships of War on the *Spanish* Coast, and no Troops that deserved to be call'd regular. The Country People too, were for the most part without Arms, whereas now there are never wanting considerable Garrisons in important Places, or a reasonable Body of regular Forces dispersed over the Coast. The People too are generally furnished with Arms, of which they make so good use, that whenever the *Moors* do land, they are twice in thrice defeated, either before they have had time to plunder, or in their Retreat. Mighty well! said the Duke; but what if any Nation in War with *Spain* should furnish

furnish the *Moors* with Ships? I shall tell your Excellency, returned Don *Tomaso*, what I think, when you shall name that Nation; at the same time permit me to say, that such things should not be spoke of even in jest. The Duke upon this look'd grave, and the Conversation broke off a little abruptly.

A day or two before they quitted the Ship, the Duke *de Ripperda*, being fuller of Spirits than usual, attacked Don *Tomaso* on these Topicks; but finding him less inclined to discourse than formerly, My Friend, said he, let us not differ about such Points as these. Neither you nor I are *Spaniards* by Birth, and if Gratitude for good Usage attaches you so strongly to that Nation, do not wonder if a contrary Behaviour has had on me, a contrary Effect. In this, my Friend, I am no Dissembler, the *Spaniards* have all things to fear from me, that shall ever be in *Ripperda's* power. I was once of your way of thinking, I wish'd well to *Spain*, and did for it all I could; I saw clearly the Errors of their former Ministers, and the Folly of endeavouring to be at the head of *Europe*, without any Ability of supporting that Humour even for a few Months: I therefore sought to aggrandize them in a rational way, by settling Manufactures, by encreasing their foreign Trade, by freeing the meaner sort of People from Oppression, and if the thing had been possible, the Great Ones from their Follies. On that Rock I split. The Vices of a Nation were too hard for me; and the Arts of a few Courtiers, join'd to the Madness of a Mob, drove me to seek protection for my Life in that City, which had seen me labour more than all former Ministers had done, in correcting those Abuses which were justly complained of. After this, they imprisoned me in a Place where I could look on the Manufactory I had settled, and which already

ready saves the *Spanish* Nation Millions. All this, as themselves confess, for Peccadillos, for losing my Patience in a Country, where no Man of Sense could keep it, and for endeavouring to give a People the Substance, who have been for Ages catching at the Shadow. Thus they have rewarded me, and shall I not reward them? — Sir, said Don *Tomaso*, I do not pretend to judge between you and the *Spanish* Nation; had I such an Authority, perhaps I should treat you in such a manner as should disarm your Resentment. As it is, permit me to give you a Word of Advice. The World already admires the Abilities and Dexterity of the Duke *de Ripperda*, let them do more, let them admire his Generosity. You know how much the *Spanish* Nation pique themselves on being Men of Honour; you have shewn them their Follies in other respects, shew it them in this, be in reality what they aim at, remember the Kindness of his Catholick Majesty, forget that Treachery which is common to Courts, and that Giddiness which is inseparable from the Populace in all Countries. — Dear Sir, said the Duke, you are a perfect Enthusiast, but you will never make me so. I am sorry for it, reply'd the Officer, your Excellency may live to repent it.

All the Duke's Hopes were now center'd in *London*, where he flatter'd himself, that all his Projects would be welcome, not only on account of the vast Advantages, which he believed it was in his power to procure to the *British* Nation, but also with respect to the Vengeance it was his Desire to take of the *Spaniards*. To this the Duke was led by the Language of some *Englishmen* and Sailors, whom he had discoursed on this Subject, and who by the outrageous things they said of the Catholick King and of his Subjects, betrayed a Hatred little inferiour to that of his own. From this Cause he kept no Measures in the Memorials he prepared for
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the Inspection of the Statesmen in that Country. On the contrary, he believed, that his warm Expressions, and his sanguine Proposals, would at once demonstrate his Sincerity, and recommend him to those with whom he had to deal; and his Notions on this head were not a little furthered by that general Resentment, which appeared in the *British* Nation, on the actual Undertaking of the Siege of *Gibraltar*. Of this it may not be amiss to give a succinct Account here, in as much as we have made it our Business to carry on all along the History of the Differences between the Courts of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, than which nothing could be more material with respect to the Memoirs of the Duke de *Ripperda*; since, in the first place, these Disputes took rise from the Informations given by him, and in the next *Gibraltar* was properly supply'd in consequence of those Notices.

The first Ground of the *Spanish* Pretensions to the Restoration of *Gibraltar*, was an Insinuation of that sort from the Regent, when he projected the Destruction of the Cardinal *Alberoni* and his Schemes; in consequence of which, somewhat was drawn from King *George I.* from which he saw afterwards cause to recede, as notwithstanding any Promise he had made he might justly do; yet this the *Spaniards* would not understand, but insisted as peremptorily on a conditional Promise, as if it had been an absolute one. We have seen in what Terms their Ministry stated this Point, and we have seen what was answered to them, which it seems was so far from being satisfactory, that immediately after the last Letter inserted in these Memoirs from the Marquis de la Paz to M. *Stanhope*, the *Condé de los Torres* was ordered to approach the Place with fifteen thousand Men. He continued some time in his Camp near *St. Rock*, without attempting any thing, that is, directly against the Fortrefs of *Gibraltar*; but

but on the 11th of *February*, O. S. he opened the Trenches, whereupon the Besieged began to fire upon his Works. The Garison consisted at that time of about six thousand Men. The Governour was the Earl of *Portmore*, and the Deputy-Governour Colonel *Clayton*; the Place was well provided with Ammunition and Provisions. Both sides for a time acted slowly, and as if they seemed not mighty well pleased with the Work they had in hand; but by degrees they grew warmer, and began to act against each other in earnest.

The *Condé de los Torres* was an Officer of great Prudence and Experience, he was thoroughly sensible of the Difficulty of the Enterprize, which his Court, rather than himself, had undertaken, and therefore he proceeded in it with all imaginable Caution. The Troops he had under his Command were the very best in the Service of *Spain*; and one may, without a Compliment, say, they were the very best in *Europe*, as appeared from the Firmness and Constancy with which they went through the incredible Labours of this Siege; not only without proper Supplies and Encouragement, but even without Hopes. On the other hand, the Place was in very good Condition, the Troops fresh and vigorous, commanded by Officers who had great Experience in the Art of War, and who did their Duty with a Tranquillity, which inspired the Soldiers with Contempt for all the Efforts of the Enemy. Sir *Charles Wager* with a strong Squadron lay in the Bay, and gave them all the Assistance they could expect or desire; so that during the whole Siege they were in high Spirits, and knowing no want of military Provisions, they bestowed them very plentifully, and by reason of their advantageous Situation, with all the Success they expected.

At the beginning of the Siege, the *Condé de los Torres* prohibited by Proclamation in his Camp, upon

pain of Death, the transmitting of any News to *Madrid*. This, tho' a necessary Precaution, was a very unlucky Omen, since it seemed to portend their not having any good News to write. Indeed for two Months the *Spaniards* did little more than fatigue themselves with working and firing to no purpose, at the same time that they suffered excessively from the Artillery of the Place. This was not the Effect either of Ignorance or of Negligence in the Engineers, who are allowed to have done their Duty perfectly well, but sprung entirely from their unlucky Situation and Difficulty of breaking Ground. By the latter end of *April* however these Obstacles were removed, and on the 26th of that Month their new Batteries began to fire, with terrible Execution on the Place. There were four of them, and they were well furnished with battering Cannon and Mortars. The desire they had to make the shortest end of this Business they could, engaged them to continue this fire without Intermission for many days. By the latter end of *May*, notwithstanding all the pains of the Besieged, things were in such a Situation, that the *Condé de los Torres* determined to hazard a general Assault on the 29th. But on the 28th, a Cannon-shot from the Town, fell into one of their Magazines, which blew up, as did soon after another; the great Piles of Fascines near the Batteries also took fire, which, though it render'd the Assault impracticable, and must certainly dispirit the Soldiers exceedingly, yet they kept their Posts, and preserved their Artillery the best they could, notwithstanding these unlucky Accidents, and their being exposed all the time to the fire of the Place. Their Ardour however abated from this time, and tho' they continued firing to the 12th of *June*, yet there were frequent Intermissions, and the Cessation of Hostilities, which then took place, was very acceptable, several hundreds of brave Men being buried in this unfortunate Siege to very little or rather

ther to no purpose, the place having been rendered much stronger than it was before; as if the End of this Siege had been to prevent the fruitless Undertaking of another.

The Conduct of the *British* Ministry on the Siege of *Gibraltar* was such, as if duly considered would have prevented the *Duke de Ripperda's* Applications; for so far were they from pushing things to Extremity, as under colour of that Siege they might have easily done, that they listened willingly to Proposals of Accommodation, and even declined accepting of *French* Succours, tho' a Diversion on the side of *Roussillon* would immediately have raised the Siege of *Gibraltar*. In *America* again the *English* Fleet committed no Hostilities, nor did they attempt to make themselves Masters of the Silver when once it was carried on shore. The reason, in all probability, was, that all *Europe* might be apprized of their Moderation, and of the Obstinacy of the *Spaniards*, who, notwithstanding it was so visibly their own Interest, could not be brought to relish a stable and honourable Peace. The Issue was what they expected: when the *Spanish* Ministry saw that all their Hopes were defeated, and all their Expectations vain, they were contented to have recourse once more to Negotiation, and in consequence thereof, Articles of Pacification were signed at the same time that the Congress of *Soissons* was set on foot, under the Direction of the pacifick Cardinal *de Fleury*.

For some time after the *Duke de Ripperda* arrived at *London*, he lived privately, and did not appear much in publick Places. This was in part owing to some Precautions he thought necessary, and proceeded in part from his Indisposition, the Gout having attacked him soon after his Arrival, with more violence than ever. But in process of time, when his Fears were removed, and his Health re-established, he resolved to live in a manner be-

coming a Person of his Quality, for which he by no means wanted a competent Fortune, having very considerable Funds in the Banks of *London*, *Venice* and *Amsterdam*. With this view he took a fine House in *Soho-Square*, which he furnish'd very handsomely, and then set up a genteel Equipage, he had likewise a Country-house, and in private Life discharged every thing, not only with Honour and Punctuality, but also with uncommon Generosity; and either out of Affectation, or as it is to be hoped, from a better Principle, disburs'd considerable Sums in Charity to Persons of all Persuasions. By this means he was extremely admired and beloved by such as had to do with him, merely as a Man of Quality. As to what a late Writer has been pleased to say concerning the Insults that were offered him by the Writers of publick Papers, and by Libels dispersed in the Street and in the Park, they are partly misrepresented, and partly false. What was said in the *Craftsman* of the Duke de *Ripperda*, tho' it was indeed gross enough, did not however in the Opinion of Persons of Penetration, aim so directly at him as at another Minister; and besides, the Passage mentioned by the Author I point at, was inserted after the Duke had left *England*, and consequently could not be intended to prejudice him here. It is indeed the Misfortune of many of the Knights of the *Pen* in *Holland*, that they will describe things they have never seen, and explain with wonderful Prolixity what they do not understand. The Business of the *Craftsman* is plainly to scrutinize our own Affairs, and in doing this the Author applies historical Facts, ancient and modern, in such a manner as best suits his purpose. Every intelligent Reader understands this, and of consequence does not pretend to interpret literally what that Writer says of Ministers of State and Favourites. For example, every body knows how *Prince Menzikoff* was treated in that Paper; so treated, that

that unless we admit the Method of interpreting I have recommended; it might be safely said, that his Person fared better in *Siberia*, than his Character here. The *English* are a changeable People in their Taste of publick Writings. Sometimes one Manner pleases them, sometimes another. One while they like Writers sublime and serious, presently after they encourage the humorous and even the grotesque; at present they are fond of characteristick Writing and historical Allegory; but it is dangerous for Foreigners to pretend to understand them, who seldom or never understand themselves. This Quickness of Disposition, this Mutability in Taste, is not, as some have imagined, the Effects of their Climate, but of their Liberty. The same Disposition is discoverable in all Mankind, by the help of a little Care and Discernment; but among a free People, every Man following the Bent of his Inclination, there is not either Care or Discernment necessary to find it amongst them. However, I think it may be safely aver'd, that our *English* Satirists have preserved as much respect for Crown'd Heads as their Neighbours; and therefore to paint us a Nation of Libellers, is a Libel with a Vengeance. But to proceed:

The Duke *de Ripperda* undoubtedly intended nothing less than to sit down quietly in *England*, and enjoy the great Fortune which he had saved out of his Shipwreck. He was most certainly intent on political Projects, which were by no means chimerical or impracticable, as many have pretended, but of a nature very little agreeable to the *British* Councils, as breathing a Spirit of Bloodshed and Destruction, which are never relished here even in a time of open War. His Excellency in these Memoirs explained perfectly well the Politicks of the Court of *Madrid*, he shewed their Weakness and the small Proportion there was between the Ends which were to be answered, and the Means which

were to be made use of in order to answer them; whence he infer'd, that the *Spanish* Ministers might go on to embroil *Europe* for many Years, but that they must all the while exhaust the People, and render the Kingdom still weaker and weaker. He likewise shewed the Advantages that might be taken here and in the *West-Indies*, not such Advantages however as might contribute to a lasting Peace, and the Establishment of an extensive Trade with the *Spanish* Nation, but such as would have reduced them to so low a State, as not to be worth trading with at all. In one word, the Duke de *Ripperda*, in all his Projects, considered the *Spaniards* as his Enemies, and in no other light; tho' it must be confessed, that in this light, no Man ever saw more clearly and perfectly what might prejudice him. He was a second *Count Julian*, whose Ambition and whose Malice knew no bounds.

The Reader will see an Instance of this in the Appendix, we have therein placed some Papers which shew how much *Spain* may be benefited by a fair Correspondence with *Gr. Brit.* and how much she may be injured by a long and vigorous War. These Papers have been retouched, to render them more useful and Instructive, as well as more curious and entertaining; so that now they exhibit within a narrow Compass our Strength, the Weakness of *Spain*, the Advantages we may take from the present War, and the Danger of the *Spanish* Monarchy, if it continues either an open or secret Enemy to us as a Nation, a thing threatned on the one hand, and by some apprehended on the other.

If these Memorials were not complied with, it was not because they came from the Duke de *Ripperda*, or from any Jealousy of his extraordinary Abilities, but it was simply because they did not coincide with the Sentiments of the *British* Ministry, or with that System, which his *Britannick* Majesty and his Allies were endeavouring to establish.

blish. The Answers that were given him however ran in the smoothest Terms, he was treated very respectfully in all the Audiences he had on the Subject of his Proposals, and except the Displeasure he might conceive at seeing all his fine Schemes rejected, he had no reason in the world to be dissatisfied with the *British* Court; or with the *British* Nation. It must likewise be observed, that the Duke never manifested any extraordinary Discontent, but on the contrary seemed to acquiesce under the Reasons which were suggested for not making use of his Schemes, only he always intimated that the Ground-Plot of these Reasons was chimerical; for, said he, the *English* act upon this Supposition, that *Spaniards* will be always true to their own Interest, whereas they will only find them true to their Humour. Always affecting Dominion, always desirous of giving *Europe* Laws, though they have neither Strength enough to acquire the former, nor Capacity enough to manage the latter. For, said he, it is manifest, that *French* Councils fixed King *Philip* upon the Throne, on which *Spanish* have often since made him totter. But when he had said this, he would frankly acknowledge, that the Desire of maintaining the Tranquillity of *Europe* was a noble Principle, though it seemed to him very doubtful whether it was feasible. He insinuated, that extended Dominions were dangerous to their Neighbours, and destructive to the Inhabitants of those Dominions; wherefore he held it the Interest of all free States to promote a more equal Distribution of Power, by reviving old Republicks, or assisting the Formation of new ones. But these political Visions did not suit every Taste. Those that did not understand them, took them for Dreams, and those that did were not unwilling that they should be considered in that light; so that by degrees the Duke came to be consider'd as a *State-Alchymist*, whose Abilities were to be admired, but whose

Schemes were too expensive, too incertain, and too dangerous to be meddled with.

Besides the Reasons that were given to the Duke for the laying aside his Projects, there were many of a prudential Nature, which might be guessed at, tho' they were not divulged. It might not perhaps be thought either justifiable or safe to intrigue with the Subjects of *Spain*, either in *Europe* or in *America*, since such a Proceeding would not only have increased the Malevolence of the *Spanish* Ministry, but also have given great Scandal and just Grounds of Suspicion to all the other Courts of *Europe*. The cutting off from *Spain* her great Supplies of Wealth, or turning them into any new Channel, might not have proved more destructive to the *Spaniards* than hurtful to the *English*. As things then stood, there was a great annual Balance of Trade in favour of the latter, and to change this Certainty for an Uncertainty, and that too at a great national Expence, was not only a wrong Measure, but might have been fatal to those who ventur'd upon it, since nothing but Success could have render'd it fair even in Appearance. Add to all this, that it might be suspected that the *Spaniards* were neither ignorant of the Duke's Designs, nor unattentive to them. That the hopes of profiting by the *Spanish* Trade might have drawn the most considerable of the *European* Potentates to side with that Crown, and that notwithstanding the Probability of the Duke of *Ripperda's* Suggestions concerning the Weakness of the *Spanish* Power, and the great Errors in its Government, yet all might not prove exactly as he said.

As our Situation with respect to *Spain* was continually varying, and as the common Voice of the People from time to time suggested a War, the Duke *de Ripperda*, who was not yet acquainted with the *English* Genius, remained in the same fluctuating Condition, hoping from time to time, that the O-

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pinion of the Ministry would change, and that the time would come, when the Excellency of his Schemes would be discerned, and himself employ'd in their Execution. The latter, without question, must have been the Consequence of the former; for there could perhaps scarce have been found in *Europe* a Man capable of entering into, or going all the lengths of such sanguine Projects as he had formed: and, as in spite of his increasing Years and Infirmities, he wanted not either Spirit or Activity enough to carry them into Act; they have made a wrong Judgement of things, who believe that there was any Party in *England*, that made it a Rule with them to treat this ambitious Statesman while he was here with Contempt: for this is so far from being true, that, without all question, he confer'd with, and was caress'd by Men of the greatest Distinction, of all Parties, either out of Curiosity, or out of Complaisance. On the other hand, the Duke knew how to conduct his general Discourses in such a manner, as to render them extremely pleasant and agreeable to all, who had any knowledge of the Affairs of *Europe*. For with a great Fund of Knowledge, and all the Politeness that could be expected in a Man, who had filled such high Dignities, he had a natural Eloquence, and so familiar a way of speaking, that it was impossible to hear him without Attention, or even to avoid feeling a very sensible Pleasure while he was speaking. But then this served only to increase the number of his personal Friends, and did not at all increase that Interest which he sought to cultivate; so that however it might gratify his Vanity, however it might flatter his Hopes, it certainly did not answer his Ends, or enable him to effect in any degree what he so passionately desired; and therefore after he had been here about three Years, in which time he grew into a great Acquaintance with the Humours and Interest of the *English*, he became thoroughly

thoroughly undeceived, and saw the Necessity of turning his Thoughts to some other Quarter.

In the Years the Duke spent in *England*, he was more than ever harass'd with the Gout, insomuch, that at least twice a Year he kept his Bed, and lay almost without Motion for six Weeks or two Months. In such a distressed Condition one would be apt to think, that a Man of our Statesman's Temper would be extremely uneasy, and excessively peevish, but it was quite otherwise. The fair *Castilian* was never absent from him a moment, she presented him whatever he had occasion for with her own hand, she moved his Limbs when he was unable to move them himself; in a word, her Tenderness was so great, and her Address so obliging, that it even banished the Sensation of Pain, and enabled the Duke in those dreadful Paroxysms, to preserve not only an unusual Steadiness and Composure of Mind, but even a Chearfulness, and a Faculty of conversing incredible to all but those who have seen it. I do not write this upon common Hearsay, but from the Testimony of Eye witnesses. The Duke *de Ripperda*, like other great Men, had his Enemies, who would not allow him any good Qualities, but such as have conversed with him here know that they are in the wrong, and that in private Conversation, in the ordinary Acts and Occurrences of Life, he was a very amiable Person, and either possessed or put on all those Virtues which recommend a Person of Distinction and good Sense to the Esteem of Mankind.

In the Management of his private Fortune, the Duke *de Ripperda's* Policy appeared very conspicuously; for though many Computations might have been framed on his manner of Living on his Remittances, and on the Funds which some of his Correspondents knew he had in several Countries, yet as to the full Amount of his Wealth, or the exact Circumstances of its Distribution, it remained

a Secret to all but himself. However, in his Transactions he was very open and candid, and preserved effectually the Love and Affection of all he dealt with. He was well versed in Trade, and there is reason to believe, made use of his Knowledge to good purpose. He also understood the Art of negotiating in *Stocks*, and many who knew him well are of opinion, that for a considerable time before he left *London*, he framed Schemes, and pursued certain Projects meerly to conceal the pains he took to acquaint himself early with that sort of Intelligence which governs the Tides in a certain Channel, where a quick Wit enables a Man to acquire a great Fortune, in much less time than the most laborious Industry will furnish him therewith in any other Quarter. On such occasions he came frequently into the City, where he took every Opportunity that offered of conversing with the most eminent and the most intelligent of our Merchants, from whom he received great Lights in respect to that Project, which he afterwards executed. These Conferences served likewise to give him a very high Idea of the extensive Commerce and naval Power of *Great Britain*, which he acknowledg'd to be much greater than he had conceived it to have been before his coming hither; and as a Mark of his Sincerity in this respect, when he afterwards found it necessary to purchase a Ship to attend his Orders in what part of the World soever his Affairs called him, he made choice of an *English* Vessel, which, after his Departure from hence, was bought for him by his Correspondent, and answered his purpose perfectly well, though it is doubtful, whether the Persons who navigated the Vessel were ever let into the Secret to whom she belonged.

When the Duke had once determined with himself to quit *England*, he suffered his Thoughts to be guided entirely by his strong Passion of revenging himself on the *Spaniards*. He saw clearly,
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that for the same Reasons his Schemes were rejected in *Great Britain*, they would be rejected in any other *European* Kingdom, where he could offer them, and this rather than any other thing put him upon considering what might be done in *Morocco*. He had had various Opportunities of gaining a perfect Knowledge of that Country, its Inhabitants and Princes. He had reflected on these seriously, and had framed in his mind a great Variety of Expedients for extirpating that Barbarism, which is natural to them, and for infusing such a Passion for Empire, as might render them fit for his purpose. He had formerly conversed with Admiral *Perez*, so well known in *England* and *Holland*, who had given him the strongest Assurances, that *Barbary* was a fine pleasant Country, where a Man might enjoy not only all the Conveniences, but all the Pleasures of Life in the highest Perfection, and where it was no difficult matter to attain the Favour of a Prince as absolute as powerful, and who never failed to reward, in the most extraordinary manner, such as enabled him, by their Counsels, to govern easily a moody, mutable People, prone by turns to Slavery and Rebellion, and who made the best Subjects to their worst Princes. Such Abilities the Duke flattered himself were in his own possession; and he looked upon it as a thing certain, that whenever he should address himself to the Emperor of *Morocco* and *Fez*, he should be able to give him such new Lights in Government, as would effectually establish his own Interest, and raise him once more to a Capacity of making good what he had once said in *Holland*; *That the loss of his Dignities in Spain, had neither abated his Courage, nor determined his Fortunes, but that he was confident he should one day shine with greater Lustre than ever, and be more considered than when he was at the head of his Catholick Majesty's Councils.*

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This Design once thoroughly digested in his own Thoughts, the Duke next broke it by degrees to the fair *Castilian*, whose Surprise thereat can hardly be expressed. It would be tedious to trouble the Reader with an Account of their Conversations on this Subject, which his Imagination possibly may supply better than mine; let it then suffice to say, that seeing the Duke fixed, she laid aside all her Aversion, and assured him, that not only to *Africa*, but also to the most distant and the most dismal Climates of the World, she was ready to follow him and share his Fortunes. His faithful Valet followed from another Motive. My Lord, said he, will be first Minister as soon as these *Barbarians* set fight on him, and then for me I shall be a *Bashaw* at least, perhaps a General or a Governour, or a Secretary of State, if I can but learn to write *Arabick*. The Duke, when he was told of these Discourses, instead of laughing, put on a more serious Air than usual. The Man, said he, has reason in what he says, and many more unlikely things have come to pass. The *Frenchman* at this was ready to caper, and instead of dreading the Day of his Departure, he longed for nothing more than to see himself fairly in *Africk*. Before his Departure, the Duke *de Ripperda* procured Recommendations from the Merchants in *London*, to their Correspondents in *Barbary*, by which means his Design came in some measure to take air, not only in *England*, but in *Holland*, whither some time in the Year 1731, the Duke found it necessary to go, in order to regulate his Money Affairs; which once performed, he had nothing more to think of but his Voyage.

In *Holland*, he thought it necessary to preserve Appearances more exactly than in *England*, and therefore as soon as they landed at *Helvoetsluys*, the Duke *de Ripperda* sent his Mistress privately to

to *Amsterdam*, while he went himself *incognito* to the *Hague*. The Design of this Journey was to confer once again with Admiral *Perez*, and to receive from him Letters recommendatory to his Master the Emperor of *Fez* and *Morocco*. It is not to be expressed how much that old Courtier *Perez* was amazed and pleased at the sight of the Duke de *Ripperda*, and at the News he told him. He conceived immediately, that the Recommendation of the Duke would be, of all others, the strongest Recommendation of himself, as carrying in it an incontestible Proof of the Industry, Fidelity, and Dexterity with which he had conducted his Negotiations. We need not wonder therefore that he said and did all that lay in his power to confirm the Duke in his Intention, and to overcome all the Scruples, which out of Affectation, rather than any real Spirit of doubting, that artful Statesman pretended to raise. These Conferences were held with all the Secrecy possible, and it is extremely doubtful, whether any thing that past in them did at this time transpire; but there is reason to believe, that the Sum of what *Perez* now and heretofore represented to the Duke, in order to determine him to this strange Step, is contained in the following Discourse; the Substance of which was taken from the Duke de *Ripperda*'s own Mouth, by a Person whom he honoured with his Friendship at *Mequinez*, and to whom he spoke more than once upon the Subject.

Prejudice, wherever it appears, is alike blameable; if the Inhabitants of *Morocco* and *Fez* are with any Justice stiled Barbarous, on account of the strange Notions they entertain of *Europeans*, it seems to follow from the same Maxim, that so far as the *Europeans* treat the Inhabitants of those *African* Kingdoms with unjust Contempt, they too are *Barbarians* in their way: and to speak my own Sentiments freely, I think the People on both sides have

have suffered alike from these Prejudices, these wilful and witless Departures from true Knowledge and Right Reason. For, if on the one hand, the People who inhabit *Barbary* are in a great measure unacquainted with the Sciences, which have rendered *Europe* flourishing and happy, the *Europeans* are no less ignorant of the great Advantages which might redound to them from a thorough Knowledge of that Country, and a more intimate Acquaintance with those who inhabit it. For this, my Lord, you may depend on, that neither the Country nor the People are unworthy of their Creator, but are both capable, by a proper Cultivation, of rendering him in their Effects the same Glory and Honour, which he derives from those other Lands and People, more known to those who think themselves most wise.

It is needless to tell you how those Kingdoms are situated, or to speak of their Provinces and their Extent. The Ports of *Salle* and *Tetuan* on the *Mediterranean*, and those of *Arzilla*, *Alcassar*, *Azamora*, *Saffia* and *Santa Crux*, on the Ocean, offer its Inhabitants all the Benefits of a most extensive Trade, as the rich Commodities they have of their own, and the much greater Stock they might have, seem more than worthy the Attention of Strangers. For instance, *Gold*, *Copper*, *Steel*, *Indigo*, *Wool*, *Morocco*, *Skins*, *Wax*, *Coral* and *Horses*; besides a multitude of other things, which are brought thither from all parts of *Africk*. I say nothing of the Beauty and Fertility of the Country, the sumptuous Palaces that are to be seen in their Cities, and those magnificent Gardens of Pleasure, which excel any thing I have seen in *Europe*. Ought a Country like this to be despised? Can any reasonable Man pretend to say that a Person is punished with Banishment, who is sent thither from *Italy* or *Greece*? If the southern Parts of *France*; if some
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Spots in *Spain* are accounted so many Paradises; sure some better Epithets, than are usually bestowed upon them, ought to be devised for the Kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco*.

But the Inhabitants, it is said, want Genius, Learning and Politeness. Where is the happy Country in which People derive all these from Nature? I know very well, that Genius is in *Europe* understood to be a Gift from above; but, for my own part, I look upon it to be the Effects of that part of Education which is little attended to, and yet even this Education is wanting to most of the Inhabitants of *Barbary*. As for Learning, it is to be met with in great Cities, such as *Fez*, *Morocco*, and *Mequinez*. You will say, that the Dreams of the *Arabians* ought not to be called Learning. If it be so, to what end have so many of your learned Men and grave Professors waked so many Nights to interpret these Dreams? As to the mathematical Sciences, without all question, the *Arabians* are now as deficient in them as formerly were the *Europeans*; but as for Rhetorick, History, Poetry, and all other Erudition of that sort, those who are intimately acquainted with them, would not despise the Knowledge of a learned *Moor*. Politeness is not the same thing every where. What is in one Country barbarous, appears civil enough in another; and methinks, before the *Europeans* brand us with so harsh a Name, they ought to consider how well, the Difference of Customs being remembered, this Epithet would fit the Manners of their Fathers; and of consequence whether the Customs of a few Men in a certain Place, ought to be made the Standard of Politeness to all Men, in all Ages, and in all Places.

The People throughout *Morocco* and *Fez*, are by no means stupid, or so much as slow in Understanding. They are generally speaking brave, patient,

tient, and where they are well treated, faithful. That there is a want of a proper Policy, and from the want thereof, a multitude of ill Consequences flow. I am as sensible as can be, but sure this Evil might be rectify'd, and as these People have the Form and Figure of Men, nay, as they have the Souls and Capacities of Men, they might be reduced to Order, civilized by Learning, and made in all respects, both a happy, and a potent People. I make no doubt, but they will be so, if your Excellency continues in this Resolution, and if his Sublime Highness my Master admits your Excellency to that Confidence, which your great Abilities merit, and which, I make no doubt, will appear with the same extraordinary Lustre in his Eyes as in mine.

It is true, that to speak freely, the Emperor is not so absolute a Prince as he is generally understood to be. There are in his Dominions many Cities, so rich and populous, that they maintain themselves in a kind of Independance; there are likewise scatter'd up and down many little Principalities, which are hereditary, and which though they are held from the Emperor, pay no other Acknowledgement than a small Tribute, and some honorary Acts of Homage. There are besides numbers of People, who live in a manner without Government at all, who call all Obedience Slavery, and out of their great Zeal for Liberty, cut one another's Throats daily, because they may do it with Impunity. Here then, my Friend, is a proper Scene for such an heroick Genius as yours to display it self. Go! teach the most noble of Monarchs, whose Veins boil with the Blood of the most illustrious Ancestors, to rule by solid and equitable Maxims, to exert properly that mighty Power to which he was born, and to compel those wandering Herds of distracted Libertines to make them-

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selves happy, by submitting to his Sway. Go! Sir, like a Legislator into *Africk*, govern her Princes and reform her Sons; teach them to know the Value of what they possess, and of themselves, and then direct them to the favourite Point of their Wishes and your own, the renewing their ancient Claim to the *Spains*, which, under your Auspice, may they again subject! Need we wonder, that these flattering Discourses, which suited so exactly with the peculiar Madness of our Statesman, should incline him to overlook all the numerous Difficulties, all that Train of Scandal and Reflection, which a Conduct like this would naturally load him with? Need we, I say, wonder at this who see the same thing every day, and if we pleased to imploy our Thoughts thereon, might every one of us be able to reckon up a multitude of *Ripperdas* in private Life?

When all things were settled, and the Duke had received his necessary Letters and Instructions, he set out immediately for *Amsterdam*, where, at a certain Inn, he found the fair *Castilian*, waiting impatiently for his coming. His stay here was but for a few days, and even that short space was much against his Will, both because he earnestly wished to be in *Barbary*, and on account of the Fear he was under of being discovered, and thereby exposed to the Visits of his Friends, which appeared to him in the light of the most impertinent Interruptions, a light they never fail to appear in, when a Man is engaged in illicit Designs. His Apprehensions were however not ill founded; for a Relation of his having heard, that there was a certain Person of Distinction *incognito* at an Inn, whose Servant never went abroad, and who himself declined seeing any Company, this *Dutch* Gentleman immediately began to suspect that it must be the Duke *de Ripperda*, of whom no News had been heard since
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his Departure from the *Hague*. In order to discover whether his Conjecture was well or ill founded, he went to the Inn about Dinner-time, and thereby gained an Opportunity of seeing the Duke as he passed from one Room to another; and tho' he had taken a great deal of care to disguise himself, yet he easily knew him, and an hour after sent him a Billet, by the feigned Name he was known by in the Inn, informing him, that he would wait on him in the Evening; and as it would be to no purpose, so he expected he would not be denied. To this the Duke returned a verbal Answer, that he should be glad of the Gentleman's Company as soon as he pleased, Upon this Message, the Gentleman came immediately to the Inn, and the Duke making a Virtue of Necessity, embraced him, and affected the utmost Joy at the sight of him; though we presume, he would have been well pleased to have escaped this Visit, especially considering that his Relation was a very intelligent Person, and a very free Speaker; one whose Character was without blemish and who could not with any patience see a Man of Quality, and of great Abilities, acting, a Part no way suited to either.

The first Ceremonies over, the Duke knowing the Gentleman's Temper, carried him into a little Closet which was in his Bed-chamber, and enter'd there with him into a kind of Discourse, which, though it contained nothing material, yet seemed to be as open and ingenuous as could be desired. But his Friend was not thus to be amused, he told him plainly, that all the World censured his Conduct loudly, and therefore it became him, if what they said was true, to reform, or to refute all they alledged, if it was false. The Duke admitted this, but said, it was impossible to return particular Answers to a general Charge, and that he had constantly observed, that such a Conduct had turned

to the prejudice of every Man, who had ventured upon it out of Tenderness to his Reputation. But, Sir, reply'd the Gentleman, the Charge is not so general as you apprehend. It is, in the first place, said, that you did not execute, as became you, your Office of Ambassador from the *States-General*; do you think this is not particular enough to deserve an Answer? It is, reply'd the Duke, provided it were well founded, in respect to Authority. For, Sir, you cannot but know, that the Behaviour of an Ambassador cannot be properly judged by any but his Masters! Now to these I acquitted my self with honour. I returned into *Holland* when my time was expired, I gave an account of my Negotiations, and was so happy as to see them approved. To the World, I must rest on this Defence; but in speaking to you, Sir, I will go farther. There never was an Ambassador in *Spain*, who either exerted himself more than I, or at a less Expence to his Country. Sometime after I arrived at *Madrid*, with the Character of Envoy Extraordinary, I found a superiour Title necessary. Of this, I informed the States, but at the same time signified, that, as in desiring this Character, I had nothing but their Service in view, so the giving me the Title would suffice, without adding any thing to my Appointments. With this Proposition they comply'd, nor did I during my Residence in *Spain*, directly or indirectly, solicit the smallest Augmentation. In my private Letters, I gave a constant account even of the most secret Transactions in that Court, which Accounts were not only useful to my Masters, but to their Allies. As for instance, in 1715, when the *Chevalier de St. George* was about to pass into *Scotland*, and all *Europe* was solicitous to know what the Sentiments were of the *Spanish* Court, I wrote an Account of his Catholick Majesty's refusing to supply the *Chevalier*

valier with Money, and of his declaring, that he would in all things deport himself as a good Ally to King *George*. In many Matters of Commerce I succeeded beyond hopes; and in those wherein I had not the like Success, I gave a clear Account of the Causes which hindered it, and suggested many Expedients, which have been since made use of. Well, Sir! said the Gentleman, I am satisfied on this head; but permit me to tell you, that it is likewise said, you betrayed the King of *Spain* at a time when he reposed the utmost Confidence in you, and to those for whom you had professed the greatest Aversion. Is this too a Calumny? If it be, make me sensible of it, I assure you it will give me extraordinary Pleasure. You cannot but know, Sir, said the Duke, that a Minister never yet was disgraced, but in the Opinion of his Contemporaries he deserved it. Posterity indeed hath done justice even to these unhappy Men, and where just Grounds have appeared, have ventured to absolve them, even at the Expence of Kings. From Posterity I expect this Justice, the rather because I have a plain and clear Title to it. The Council of *Castile* declared me a Traitor to his Catholick Majesty, and then established a Commission to hear, or rather to find Proofs of it, which, with all their Industry, they have not been able to do. On What Evidence then can any impartial Man believe me guilty? On the Evidence, returned his Friend, of the *British* Minister, who charges you in his Memorials with betraying the Contents of private Treaties. Hold, Sir, said the Duke *de Ripperda*, those Memorials prove nothing against me; on the contrary, when they are thoroughly understood, they will prove me innocent. I did not betray any private Treaties; for in truth there were no such Treaties, and if a prime Minister were to be accountable for every thing he says in Conversation,

he must either resolve to continue obstinately silent, or be in reality guilty of betraying his Master's Secrets. While such Differences subsisted between the Courts of *Madrid* and *London*, as necessarily arose from the Treaty of *Hanover*, such Discourses as are fixed upon me might very well become a *Spanish* Minister. On the one hand, the Imperial Ministry spoke of that Treaty as a direct Breach of the Elector of *Hanover*'s Duty to the Emperor and Empire; and on the other hand, it was natural for the *Spanish* Court to magnify as much as possible, the Mischiefs they could do the King of *Great Britain*, in case he continued to act as he did, in sending Squadrons to affront his Catholick Majesty, and to distress his Subjects. This, Sir, is my Apology, and perhaps it would not be a difficult thing for me to account as well for the Design I am now about to execute. I know the different Reports of the World, and I despise them. I know it was said, that I became a Protestant in *England*, and that I am now disposed to become *Jew*, *Turk*, or *Pagan*. But it is my Comfort, that other People's Thoughts will not affect me. Depend upon it, Sir, that the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Head hath as much Brains in it as heretofore, and that he will not commit any frantick Actions, meerly to make good the Character his Enemies have given him, that he is a *Political Madman*. But, Sir, said his Relation, if things be as you represent them, why are you here *incognito*? My being *incognito*, returned the Duke, necessarily obliges me to conceal my Reasons for it, since had they not been very important, I should not have endeavoured to conceal myself. To you, Sir, I shall be always visible, till such time as these Reasons shall lose their force, and I think proper to appear publickly.

The Discourses of the Duke *de Ripperda* had
 an Effect on the honest Gentleman who con-
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versed with him, that he really inclined to pity him, to disbelieve what he had heard, and to have no longer any Apprehensions of his being disposed to undertake such chimerical Designs as were imputed to him. The common Discourse, after he had disappeared at the *Hague*, being to this effect, That he had Thoughts of going to *Rome*, to offer his Service to the *Chevalier*; to *Constantinople*, in order to make a Friendship with *Bashaw Bonneval*; to *Algiers*, with a view of employing his Money in fitting out Vessels to cruize on the *Spaniards*; to *Persia*, to implore the Protection of *Kouli Khan* or to *Morocco*, in order to support *Muly Abdalla* on the Throne by his wise Counsels. From his own Discourse, nothing of this sort could be gathered, and therefore his Friend, when he heard such things mentioned, treated them not only as Fables, but as Calumnies, set on foot meerly to blacken the Character of a Man not near so culpable as unfortunate. He continued also his Visits daily to the Duke, who told him the last time he saw him, that it would not be long before he returned to the *Hague*, and appeared as publicly as usual. The next Evening, when the Gentleman went again to inquire for the Duke, he was told, that the Nobleman he visited sent his Equipage away the day before, and that himself and his Lady departed that Morning, whether they could not tell. This opened the Gentleman's Eyes, who saw plainly that the Duke had amused him only, and that the Person he had with him must be the Lady who assisted him in his Escape; for, as for the Dutches de *Ripperda*, he was well satisfied, that she remained at *Madrid*. He therefore dropt from this time forward All his Apologies, all his Excuses for the Duke de *Ripperda*'s Conduct, and became the most open and the most irreconcilable Enemy he had.

As soon as the Captain of the Vessel, which, as I have elsewhere observed, had been purchased for the Duke by his Correspondent at *London*, had acquainted his Excellency that the Wind was fair for getting out of the *Fexel*, he instantly went on board, as having nothing more at heart than to deliver himself from the Inquiries of his Relation, who daily exercised his Parts by a multitude of puzzling Questions. The Lady was extremely well accommodated in the Cabbin, and the Duke had the Company of some *Jews* whom he had directed the Captain to grant a passage on purpose that he might enjoy their Conversation, because he knew they had resided long in the Country, and were related to one of the richest *Jews* at *Mequinez*. By this, he had a double advantage, he received a perfect Account of the State of *Morocco* as it then stood, and he secured an Interest in a Family which was afterwards of great use to him. The Name of one of these *Jews* was *Moses Henriquez*, a Native of *Aragon*, and who had studied in the University of *Alcala*. His Father was a physician, and had lived without any Suspicion of his being a *Jew*; but his Mother, who was descended from the famous *Isaac Abrabanel*, after her Husband's Death, fell into the hands of the *Inquisition*, and died in Prison. This Son of hers was then about nine Years old, and had been christened by the Name of *Sebastian*. A certain Priest had charged himself with the Care of his Education, and sent him to be brought up at a distance from his Relations, that he might have no Tincture of Judaism. But when the young *Henriquez* had arrived at the Age of nineteen, he found means on the Priest's Death, to possess himself of twelve thousand Pieces of Eight, which descended to him from his Father, and applying himself to the Earl of *Peterborough* for a Pass, retired first into *England*, and from thence went to *Barbary*, where

where his Mother's Brother having escaped from *Lisbon*, was settled, and carried on a considerable Trade. This *Henriquez* became very intimate with the Duke *de Ripperda*, on account of his hating the *Spaniards*, if possible, more than he. But in other respects, it did him some hurt; for he no sooner perceived that the Duke had a Leaning to the *Moorish* Interest, than he began to magnify the Power of that Empire beyond all bounds, and to fill the Duke's Head with such Notions of the Forces, Wealth, and martial Disposition of the Inhabitants of *Fez* and *Morocco*, as induced him to imagine, that he should be quickly in a Condition of avenging himself on his Enemies by Fire and Sword; which he could not more ardently wish, than did his Companion *Henriquez*, who deceived him rather in consequence of his own Bigotry, than from any Design, as appeared afterwards by his launching out considerable Sums in support of the Duke's Projects.

There was nothing very considerable happened in the Voyage, and therefore there is no necessity for dwelling long upon it. On their Arrival at *Tangier*, the Duke took up his Quarters with his Friends the *Jews*, who treated him with all the Respect imaginable, and who promised to conduct him themselves to *Mequinez*. They had however some Business to dispatch there and at *Tetuan*, which constrained them to make a short Stay, and thereby gave the Duke an Opportunity of looking about him. A Man of his Penetration did not require much time to discern, that the Pictures which he had hitherto seen of this Country and its Inhabitants, were drawn very much to their Advantage. The *Moors* appeared on a very short Acquaintance in their proper Colours, that is to say, haughty, insolent, full of Caprice, Cruelty and Revenge. As he lived among the *Jews*, he could not avoid penetrating

trating the miserable Fear, constant Anxiety, and wretched Dependence, in which they pass'd their time, meerly for the sake of amassing of a little Money, which it required more care to hide than to get. The Suspicion of being rich, holding in a *Jew* the place of a Capital Crime. As for the Christian Captives, the putting them before his eyes not only to the most servile Labours, but also to such as are only fit for Beasts, struck him with Horror with respect to their Masters, and with the deepest Compassion for themselves. He relieved them generously for the present, and formed in his Mind a settled Resolution of delivering them from all their Miseries if once he attained supreme Power. As for the Lady, many of the *Jews* Wives were *Spanish* Women, and the Flattery of their Caresses, in which it is well known they excel, easily took off her Thoughts from the Friends she had made in other Places. Besides, seeing there were *Christian* Merchants settled in *Barbary*, she laid aside all Apprehensions, supposing that it would not be a difficult thing for her to return into *Europe* in case the Duke died. The small time therefore that they remained at *Tangier* was spent in a way equally agreeable and useful; but this did not hinder the Duke from being a little impatient, as he generally was, when he continu'd long in a Place, for which reason he hurried his Friends, who, to shew him the great Consideration they had for him, departed at his request, tho' they had not absolutely finished their Affairs, referring such as were of least Importance to their Return.

In his Journey to *Mequinez*, the Duke had Leisure and Opportunity to make his Observations on the Soil and Climate, which he did with all the Accuracy possible; not so much with a Design to satisfy himself in their Properties, as that he might

might judge of the Sincerity of Admiral *Perez* in other respects, by the Truth he found in his Descriptions of these. When they came to the City, the Duke chose rather to lodge at the House of a *French Merchant* than with the *Jews*, whom he saw to be a despised People, and therefore he thought it no longer his Interest to live among them. He certainly chang'd for the better, the *French Merchant's House* being one of the best situate in *Mequinez*, with a pleasant Garden, and Fountains almost in every Room. The Mistress of the House was a *Spaniard*, about eighteen Years old, a Native of *Burgos*, and the sworn Friend of her Country-woman the fair *Castilian*, from the first hour of their conversing together. As for the Merchant, he was a Man of good Manners and good Sense; the first inclined him to receive the Duke *de Ripperda* into his House, as an illustrious Stranger, and the latter taught him how to make a proper use of so extraordinary a Guest. He was hardly settled in his House, before he began to inquire of the Merchant, by what means he might best obtain an Audience of the Emperor. To which the Merchant frankly answered, that it would be easier to obtain an Audience, than to be certain of the Manner in which he might be treated therein. Your Excellency must see (continued he) that the *Moors* are not the politest People in the world, and you may credit me when I tell you, that the Emperor is as whimsical, and as little to be accounted for in his Actions as any of them. The Duke was not at all astonished at this; but with great Gravity answered, That all Countries had their Customs, and all Princes their Humours; that he no more expected to find in *Africk* a Monarch of perfect good Sense, and ceremonious Politeness, than he hoped to meet with a Climate as moderate as that of *France*: but that as he found no difficulty in living where he was,

was, so he persuaded himself he should not find much trouble in accommodating his Disposition to that which reigned in his Imperial Majesty's Court. That he had Letters Recommendatory from *Admiral Perez*, and that all he wanted was an Opportunity for being admitted to the Royal Presence, which the Merchant promised to procure, and was quickly after as good as his word.

At this Audience the Duke not only delivered the Letters he had received from *Perez*, but gave a short Account also of the Reasons which had induced him to retire into *Barbary*, and a distinct Declaration of his Hatred to the *Spaniards*, and his earnest Desire to expose his Life in the Service of his Majesty against them, either in *Africa*, or in *Europe*. It so happened, that *Muly Abdallab* was extremely serious that day, and more inclined to think than usual; he therefore answered the Duke very properly, though in a less gracious Manner than he expected. He informed him, that he was not ignorant either of his Quality or Adventures, that he had a great Confidence in *Admiral Perez*, but that as the Matters he proposed were of the utmost Consequence, he ought to have patience till they could be deliberated on, that in the mean time he would do well to think of quitting his Errors, and embracing the true Religion, which would be the first Step to his Favour, and without which he could not so much as hope for his Protection; but said the Emperor at parting, this I suppose will cost you little Pain, the Doctrines of our Law being so clear and so self-evident, that you cannot help apprehending, and being convinced of their Truth when you have once heard them, I will make choice of a Person proper to instruct you.

Though it cannot be conceived, that the Duke had any Reason to be pleased with so jejune an Answer, yet it is certain, that he returned with all
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the Marks of Joy in his Countenance, that could have been expected from the most favourable Reception. This had a proper Effect, it absolutely confounded the Merchant, and it raised exceedingly the Spirits of the fair *Castilian*, as well as of his Valet, who made no question that all his Master's Promises would be quickly fulfill'd, and that he should in a very short space become a Minister of State; for which however he was but indifferently qualified, being scarce able to read, and having forgot how to write. The next Evening, the Duke sent for his Host to his Apartment, and having by adroit Compliments to himself and his Wife, high Professions of Gratitude and distant Promises, fixed both his Attention and his Confidence, he began to enter more frankly into his own Affair than he had formerly done, and to give the Merchant to understand, that he should quickly be considered in another light than that of a private Person. There needed nothing more to astonish the *Frenchman*, and put him almost out of his Wits. He looked upon his Excellency from that moment as upon a Devil incarnate, knowing well that there was no obtaining Preferment from a *Moorish* Prince, on any other Terms than that of parting with the Christian Faith at the first step. But he had Presence of Mind enough to conceal his Surprise, or rather the Apprehension he was under from his having to do with a Man of this Stamp, filled him with Caution. He therefore treated him with more Respect than ever, and gave him a sincere Detail of the State of the Court, and of the general Characters of the principal Persons therein; adding at the Close, that one of the Emperor's principal Favourites was a *French Renegade*, whose Name was *Ali*. At this, as the Merchant foresaw, the Duke immediately caught, and desiring to be acquainted with this Man's Character, and if possible to be introduced

duced to his Acquaintance; both which his Host very chearfully promised, as conceiving it the only way to rid himself of a formidable Inmate, from whose Principles an honest Man had all things to fear.

This *Ali*, Sir, said the Merchant, was a Monk, a Celestine, I think but a scandalous Debauchée, insomuch that finding it impossible to reside amongst Catholicks, he took a Resolution of flying to *England*, where he turned Protestant; but not having found his Account in his Change of Religion, he fled hither and turned *Mohammedan*. By this means he gained Admittance to the Emperor's Court, wherein at present there is no body more considerable. He is without question a Man of Parts, of an insinuating Temper, gay, sprightly, and full of Buffonry, which diverts *Muly Abdalla* so much, that he suffers him to say and do what he pleases. Have you any Correspondence, said the Duke *de Ripperda*, with this Man? Yes, return'd his Host. He comes hither frequently; and if your Excellency thinks fit, I will introduce you to him to-morrow. The Duke signified his Assent civilly, but without expressing the great Joy this Proposition gave him; for he now hoped to see all his Difficulties removed, to beseech the Emperor with new Sollicitations, and to make himself considered in the light he desired to be considered, that is, as the most zealous Servant of the King of *Morocco*, and the most determined Enemy of *Spain*.

The Merchant was as good as his word, for having made a magnificent Entertainment, he invited *Ali* to participate thereof, and before the Feast introduced him to the Duke *de Ripperda*. They sat together at Table, conversed with, drank to each other, and before they rose were as good Friends, as if they had been twenty Years acquainted.

quainted. The next day the Duke went to wait upon *Ali*, who regaled him with great Magnificence. He told the Duke, that nothing could possibly give him greater Pleasure than to meet in this Part of the World with so great a Man. I have, said he, for a long time supported myself with the Emperor by Dint of a reasonable Assurance, which I kept up rather by the Strength of my natural Temper, than any other way. I abhor these *Barbarians*, I detest their Customs, and I have no Opinion of their Understandings, and I say this every day to their faces; the Emperor laughs at it, and they, if they durst, would send me to the Flames; but no matter for that, while I injoy the Protection of *Muly Abdalla*, I am in no great pain about their Resentments. But methinks, said the Duke, this is an odd way of making court to the Emperor, who, for ought I perceive, is not much more polite than the rest of his Subjects. You are mistaken, said the Renegade, he is both more polite, and more knowing than any of them, and would be yet more wise and more capable of governing, if he was not so much inclined to Indolence and Ease. For my part, I have no hopes but in the Emperor, which I endeavour to demonstrate by my Conduct. He is sensible of this, and therefore protects me as a Man on whom he may always depend, because he knows I have no other Friend. Well, reply'd the Duke, you have reason to speak of him as you do; but to deal freely with you, I never had an Audience which pleased me so little, as that he honoured me with. Very possible, returned *Ali*, he is not a very active Prince, and consequently does not relish extraordinary Projects. However in time, perhaps, he may come to be of another Opinion: I will try what I can do for you, it may be I may obtain for you a second Audience, where in he will treat you better.

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But let me tell you one thing by the way; in this Country there is nothing to be done without Presents; a little well laid out this way is one of the shortest Methods of coming at a Fortune. O! mighty well, reply'd the Duke, I was apprized of that before I left *Europe*, and wherever you find them necessary I shall not be deficient. This Conversation ended, the Duke took his leave, big with mighty hopes, which for once were not disappointed.

A few days after *Ali* came and acquainted him, that, according to his Promise, he had mentioned him to the Emperor, who very readily granted another Audience, for which he desired he would prepare himself the next day. Prepare myself, said the Duke, how? What sort of Ceremonies are in fashion at this Court? or how shall I be instructed in them? Why, reply'd *Ali*, all Courts have their Ceremonials, and this among the rest. You must yourself be dressed magnificently, your Servant also must have on a Habit of Ceremony, and your Host, I warrant you, will furnish you with some People to compleat your Train. This, with a moderate Present to the Introducator of Ambassadors, and another worthy of the Emperor's Acceptance is all you need.

The Duke was ready very early, being drest in a Suit of Crimson Velvet trimm'd with Gold. *M. St. Martin* also was very handsomely equipt; and much more impatient than his Master, supposing that Preferment was now at hand, and having too much good Manners to let it wait for him. The Merchant sent three of his Servants in the best Garb they had, and with this Retinue he went first to the House of *Ali*, and from thence to Court; where, with much Ceremony, he was introduced to the Emperor, who made a very splendid Appearance, and who received him much in the same manner

manner he had done before. After a quarter of an hour's Attendance, those who waited in the Emperor's Presence were dismissed, and the Duke and his Friend *Ali* left alone, each of them having a Cushion presented for them to sit on. This being done, the Emperor who spake *Spanish* very well, addressed himself to the Duke *de Ripperda*: "*Ali*,
 " said he, hath assured me, that you are a Person
 " who well deserve my Favour, I accept the Offer
 " you have made me of your Service, and as soon
 " as *Perez* shall return, whom I suddenly expect,
 " Orders shall be given for examining the Schemes
 " you may propose, and effectual Care shall be taken that nothing be wanting capable of contributing to our Desire of avenging ourselves upon the
 " *Spaniards*." The Duke thank'd his Majesty in the most submissive Terms; and would willingly have entered into a more particular Discourse, but the Emperor waved it, by saying, that as he could do nothing till Admiral *Perez* arrived, so the Duke would do well to consider and revise his Projects, without communicating them till then. In which, since there was no help for it, the Duke acquiesced. At the Close of the Audience, he presented the Emperor with the Ring, which, instead of a Jewel, had a Watch nicely set, wherewith, the *Moorish* Monarch was prodigiously pleased, and even condescended to inform him, that it would not be long before he received Marks of his regard for him. When they retired, his Friend *Ali* invited him to Dinner, which he accepted, and went with all his Train in Ceremony to that Renegade's House.

When the Entertainment prepared on this Occasion was over, *Ali* advised the Duke to send for the fair *Castilian*, and to make use of an Apartment in his House, which was large, pleasant, well furnished, and which he was assured he might command as much as if it was his own. The Duke

consented, and the Merchant thereby reaped the Benefit of his Contrivance, the Duke quitting his House the very next Day, and making him a very handsome Present when he quitted it. From this time forward, the Duke wore the Habit of the Country, and conformed himself in all outward Respects to the Manners of the People with whom he lived. As for the *Castilian*, she lived pleasantly enough. *Ali* had two Wives, one of whom, a Girl of sixteen, was from *Castile* also, had been taken by a Corsair, and presented to the Emperor, who, as a Mark of his Favour, was pleased to bestow her upon *Ali*. If the Duke had so pleased, he might also have had a Seraglio; but in this Particular he shewed some Moderation; and either from Gratitude to her, who had rescued him from Bondage at the hazard of her Life, or from a Sense that his Constitution did not qualify him for amorous Adventures, he chose to make no use of that Privilege, which hath tempted so many others to abjure their Faith. Thus the private Concerns of the Duke were compleatly settled to his Satisfaction. He had a Man with whom he could converse freely, and who thought just in his own way; the *Castilian* was perfectly quiet, and began to recover that Beauty which had been impaired by the Chagrin she had lately endured; to which perhaps, this did not a little contribute, that every body at *Mequinez* treated her as Dutchess of *Ripperda*. One may wonder at this, considering that the Christians establish'd at *Morocco*, could not but know that the Duke had a Wife living at *Madrid*, and that consequently this Lady was nothing less than Dutchess of *Ripperda*. However, if we reflect on the State *Ripperda* was now in, and the Manner in which he lived, we need not wonder that the Christians did any thing to obtain his Favour; for in that Country, where the Frown of a Prince is attended with
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immediate Destruction, those who are for a time in his favour, not only obtain Respect, but a kind of Adoration.

In his publick Character, the Duke was as fortunate; for by frequent Conversations he gained such an Ascendency over the Mind of *Muly Abdalla*, that he told him frankly, he was desirous of seeing him at the head of his Armies, and of reviving the Spirit of the *Moors* by a War with *Spain*; but that he looked upon such a Step to be inexpedient till the Arrival of Admiral *Perez*, because in fact, none of his Council but he had a Capacity for transacting such an Affair; and besides he was so much beloved by the People, that it was of great consequence they should see he entered into and approv'd these Measures. As to the rest, the Duke was heard with Attention in Council, the more intelligent of the *Moors* were captivated by his manner of speaking, and the Duke knew so well how to accommodate his Discourse to each Man's particular way of thinking, that in a few Weeks, he directed all things without having the envied Title of Prime Minister, or even being thought to direct them by those he governed; so artfully did he represent his own Notions as borrowed from them, and with such Address did he place their Complacence for his Sentiments in the light of Opinions purely their own.

The more he considered the Temper and Capacity of *Muly Abdalla*, the more the Duke was at a loss how to conduct himself; he saw that Prince had great Faults, especially Indolence, and the Love of Women, together with a timorous Aversion for War, springing from the Remembrance of what had past in the opening of his Reign, when a cruel and most bloody Struggle fixed him upon the Throne. But with all this he was very far from being sunk in those Vices, which in a manner stupified *Almady*

Abmedy his Predecessor. For the reigning Emperor, tho' he drank sometimes with his Favourites, yet never attempted to do any Business when he had indulged himself in his Cups. He was besides slow in speaking; thoughtful, when not with his Women; and so just to his word, that the Fathers of Mercy in their Transactions with him about Slaves, would trust to his Honour, which was more than ever they thought fit to do with respect to any of his Predecessors. In the eyes of any body but the Duke *de Ripperda*, these Qualities would have render'd him amiable; but our Politician would have been better pleased, if the Emperor had been more a *Barbarian*, provided his Fury might have been pointed against the *Spaniards*, and the whole Force of *Morocco* poured first on the *Spanish* Garisons in *Africk*, and then transported into *Europe*. As it was, the Schemes he offered for blocking up *Ceuta* and *Melilla*, for ruining the *Spanish* Coasts, and for uniting all the Piratical States of *Barbary* in a League, to transport an Army of *Moors* into *Spain*, could not quicken either the Emperor or his Council, who, tho' they were well pleased with these Overtures, were of themselves incapable of carrying them into execution, and did not as yet see any cause to trust the Duke absolutely in all things, who in respect to them was a perfect Stranger, and in outward Appearance a Christian. While things were in this Situation, the Duke, though he had nothing which ought properly speaking to have given him pain (Remorse of Conscience excepted) yet was he so chagrin'd at his being forced to live so long in quiet, that he began to grow as melancholy as he had ever been when in *Segovia*, as if to him Rest and Peace had been a Prison.

But to put an end to his Disquiet, when he was least looked for, Admiral *Perez* arrived from *Europe* at *Tangier*, and soon after came to *Mequinez*,

nez, to the joy of the Emperor and his Subjects, but much more to the unfortunate Duke *de Ripperda*, who would often say to himself in his Reveries; *Perez is old, he is infirm, he is not able to bear cold Countries, he may die, and then I shall see myself reduced to the necessity of running about with my Projects from Court to Court, as the Savoyards do with their Boxes.* But upon the Admiral's Arrival all his fears ceased; he went immediately to welcome him, and the Admiral gave him the strongest Assurances, that he would perform to him at *Mequinez*, all that he had promised him at the *Hague*. He was as good as his word, for the very first time he sat in Council, he gave so ample a Detail of the Duke *de Ripperda's* Abilities, and of the mighty Apprehensions the People in *Europe* had on account of his Attachment to his Imperial Majesty's Interest, that they instantly resolved to trust him in all things, and to leave the Preparations for, as well as the Conduct of the War, entirely to his Care. As this was determined, when the Duke *de Ripperda* himself was not present, Admiral *Perez* was charged to acquaint him therewith, in such a manner as should to him seem proper.

The next day, the Admiral went to the House of *Ali*, and having first paid his Compliments in general Terms to the Duke, told him at last his Message in these Words: "Your Excellency, after a little Step of Probation, may immediately mount to one of the first Dignities in the Empire, and have it in your own power to execute your own Schemes as you think fit. And what, said the Duke, is that Step of Probation? Nothing, cry'd out *Ali*, who was present, but the trivial Business of Circumcision, which is very little more Pain than Cupping or Bleeding. Say you so, said the Duke *de Ripperda*, changing Colour, if it be so small a thing, why is it in-

“ fisted on? all other Marks of Affection and At-
 “ tachment to your Cause, I am ready, I am desirous to give, but this I wish I might be excused.
 “ You should have thought of that, said *Perez*, in
 “ *Europe*; there is now no Remedy, be circum-
 “ cised and a Bashaw, or remain as you are a private Man. Methinks, answered the Duke, you
 “ might have treated this Subject a little more delicately. True, said *Perez*, but I love to come
 “ to the point with my Friends; I have answered
 “ for you to the Emperor and his Council, my
 “ Head is at stake, and therefore for once Compliments may be excused. You have reason, good
 “ old Man, said the Duke *de Ripperda*, I submit.
 “ It is as you say, these things should have been
 “ thought upon in *Europe*; in *Mequinez*, I desire
 “ to be known only as an Enemy to the *Spaniards*,
 “ and am ready to undergo whatever may enable
 “ me to chastise them.” At these words, both
Ali and *Perez* embraced him, and swore everlasting
 Fidelity to him in all his Designs, provided he became a good *Mussulman*, which he as solemnly promised. Then *Perez* proposed to him hiring a House for himself, taking proper Servants, and living in a manner suitable to his Dignity; to all which, by the Advice of *Ali*, he agreed, and saw with Amazement the Expedition with which old *Perez* got a large House furnished for him, and regulated his Family in such a manner, that if he had been twenty Years in *Africk*, he could not have been more properly established in all respects.

Immediately after his Removal, the Thoughts of having carried his point, the Pomp and Splendour in which he lived, the deep Submission of the *Moors*, the Respect shewn him by the Christians, kept his Mind so fully occupied, that he appeared as brisk and as full of Spirits, as when at the head of the King of *Spain*'s Councils. Nay, so predominant

minant was his Vanity, that he could not help writing into *Holland*, and, though it regarded only Business as a Merchant, he subscribed the *Bashaw Duke de Ripperda*; which Letter was immediately shewn about as a Curiosity to his perpetual Disgrace. But when he began to think a little, when he saw the Dejection and Despair, which in very legible Characters were written on the Forehead of her he called his Wife, and who was just ready to lie in, he began to grow more serious, and even to incline once more to his Melancholy, especially as the day fix'd for his Circumcision approached. His Friends *Ali* and Admiral *Perez* did their utmost to support his Spirits and to divert him. They represented to him in the strongest light the Confidence which the Inhabitants of *Barbary* reposed in him, and the glorious things, which under his Auspice they expected to perform against all their Enemies; intimating at the same time, that he ought immediately to think of a Plan for besieging *Ceuta*, which having sustained a Blockade of forty Years, it was not to be doubted the *Moors* would believe him invincible, by whom it could be speedily taken. While the Duke was meditating on this Design, the fair *Castilian* was brought to bed of a Son, which served to embarrass him still more with those to whom he had devoted his Service. For no sooner was Admiral *Perez* acquainted therewith, than he went immediately to congratulate his Friend on a piece of good Fortune, which, as the old Man told him, might, if properly improved, do him the greatest Service. If you were not my Friend, reply'd the Duke *de Ripperda*, I should think you bantered me; what Service can a new-born Child be of to a Man in my Situation? What Service? said the Admiral smiling, why make the Boy the Pledge of your Fidelity to the Religion of *Mohammed*. The Duke started at this, for he knew well that the very

Mention of it would have broken the Heart of the *Castilian*; he therefore waved it as well as he could, that he might gain time to consult with *Ali*.

When he mentioned it to that debauched Infidel, he appeared no less surprized than the Duke, and his Concern increased when he was informed of the Obligations his Friend lay under to the Mother of the Infant. After remaining silent for some time, "Your Excellency, said he, may act as you think fit; but, for my own part, I would not break the Mother's Heart to satisfy all the *Moors* in the World. Besides, the Business of the Emperor is with you, and not with a Child born yesterday; we may take what Steps we please for ourselves, but as for our Children——I say no more; but let me beseech your Excellency to let the Child receive Baptism to-morrow. This old Man has a great Ascendency over you, if he should draw you into this thing, it would first break the Lady's Heart, and then your own; believe me it would, and therefore take my advice, when *Perez* finds the thing done, he will say no more about it." The Duke ruminated on the Counsel which *Ali* had given him all Night, and in the Morning as soon as he was up he sent to the Convent of the Holy Trinity, and had the Child baptized.

When this came to the Admiral's knowledge, he was extremely offended, and spoke of it with much warmth to the Duke *de Ripperda*, who was forced to use all his Art to soften him; and that he might make some Reparation for saving the Soul of his Son, he persuaded his Valet to turn *Turk*, which he did very readily, because he had overheard Admiral *Perez* one day say, that no Man could be a *Bashaw* that was not of their Religion. The fair *Castilian* used her utmost Endeavour to prevent this execrable Action, but to no purpose. The Duke

was

was bent upon it, that he might be the better able to judge, whether Circumcision was a thing to be endured or not, and therefore when his Servant assured him, that the Operation was neither very painful nor dangerous, (as it happened in his Case) he no longer hesitated a moment. Nothing could equal the Joy of the Emperor and of Admiral *Perez* when they heard of this; for the Duke to gain time, had desired to be instructed in the *Mohammedan* Religion, and had treated him who had the care of converting him in so Cavalier a manner, that it seemed as if at last he would preserve his Religion at the Expence of his Honours. But this was all a Feint, that the Reputation of bringing him over might redound to the Emperor alone, by whose Discourses he pretended he was convinced. In fine, on the day which had been fixt, he was circumcised with great Solemnity; but either thro' Accident, or Design, the Operator slipt his Knife, and cut him so desperately, that a Surgeon was called in to stop the Blood, and the Duke was carried home in a Swoon more dead than alive; which, however, was disguised from the People, who made mighty Rejoicings on this occasion, as if the Conversion of an old abandon'd Sinner to their Religion could have fixed the Favour of God for ever to their Empire.

It is very difficult to imagine a State so distressed as that of the Duke *de Ripperda* at this time. His Fever induced by the Operation threatned his Life, and except *Ali* he had not a Friend in the World to converse with; for the fair *Castilian*, who used to be the Partner of all his Cares, refused to come to him, nor could she be mollified by the Prayers and Intreaties of *Ali*, or of *St. Martin*, who represented the Duke's Danger in the strongest Colours imaginable. As he grew better, however, he recovered his Spirits, and after two or three Visits from Ad-
miral

miral *Perez*, began to resume his Projects for retaking the strong Places possessed by the *Spaniards* in *Africk*. With this view, he disguised his Servant, his faithful Servant *St. Martin*, and sent him as a Spy to *Melilla*, tho' one would have thought he might have found some other Person more fit for that Employment, and have spared a Man so useful and necessary to himself, as well as one who had done him so many and great Services. It so happened, that the Man was lucky in this Expedition, and returned safe to the Camp, where he had no sooner rendered an Account to the Duke, than the Duke immediately gave Advice to the Emperor, whereupon a grand Council was held, in which it was determined to open the Trenches before *Ceuta*. The most experienced Officers among the *Moors*, when this Question came to be put, declared themselves in the negative. They represented with great Earnestness the many fruitless Attempts they had made within the space of forty Years, the great Expence of Blood and Treasure which the Blockade only had cost the Empire, and the Reasons which Experience had taught them, whence they believed the Place to be impregnable. But to these the *Bashaw de Ripperda* answered so clearly, removed their Difficulties with such Facility, and opened to them so many new Methods of acting offensively, that they came immediately over to his Opinion, so that it was unanimously resolved to besiege the Place in form, and that without any farther Delay.

The next day there was a grand Promotion of Officers, on which occasion the Renegades had an extraordinary Respect shewn them through the Interest of *Ripperda* and *Ali*; the former of whom was declared Commander in Chief, and the latter had a very considerable Employment given him. *Muly Abdalla* being now fully resolved to prosecute the Plans of his new Favourite, took all imaginable pains

pains to assemble a choice Body of Infantry for the Reinforcement of the Troops before *Ceuta*, that no time might be lost in reducing that important Place. This Body of Foot, to the Number of ten thousand Men, being once drawn together, and in a Condition to march, the *Bashaw de Ripperda* put himself at their head, and conducted them in Person to *Ceuta*, where he directed all things with the same Genius, Spirit, and indefatigable Industry that could have been expected in a General who had never studied any thing but the Art of War. When he had taken all the necessary Precautions, had inspired the Troops with unusual Ardour, by leading them in Person on several slight Expeditions, and given the Engineers an Idea of the Works necessary for carrying on the Siege, he returned to *Mequinez*, where he was received with great Applause, the Emperor having been informed by the *Moorish* Officers, who accompanied him, that he had absolutely changed the Face of Affairs, and filled the Troops who formed the Blockade with such Vigour, that instead of looking upon themselves as condemned to a hopeless Work, they now talk'd of nothing but Feasts and Donations, on their taking possession of the Place, which they made no question of effecting within the space of a few Months. As for the *Bashaw* himself, he affected great Modesty in his Behaviour, he spoke of the Fortifications at *Ceuta* as much more considerable in themselves, than they had appeared to him from the Plans; he commended the Courage and Discipline of the Garrison, and the Dispositions made by the Governour for its Defence; but concluded with applauding the Courage, Patience and Resolution of the Besiegers, and assured the Emperor and his Council, that maugre all Opposition, he doubted not to make himself Master of the Place, and that within a reasonable Space, but desired the proper Supplies

Supplies of Ammunition, Provisions, and all other Necessaries for the carrying on of the Siege, should be sent without delay to the Camp, that the Spirits of the Soldiers might not flag, and that they might have no doubt of his exerting all his Interest in their favour. His Proposals being backed by *Perez*, were immediately assented to, and the coming of this Convoy to the Camp, did effectually conciliate the Hearts of the *Moors* to their new Bashaw, whom they looked upon as the common Father of the Troops, and bestowed on him every where the loudest and most excessive Praises.

But the Bashaw *de Ripperda* was not long so happy, for his Spy *M. de St. Martin*, who was promised Mountains for running daily the hazard of being broke upon the Wheel, brought him Advice that the *Spaniards* were preparing to transport an Army into *Africk*, in order to retake *Oran*, and perhaps to push their Conquests still farther. He presented him at the same time with the King of *Spain's* Declaration, dated at *Seville* the 6th of *June* 1732, countersigned by *M. Patinho*, containing the Reasons of that Expedition, and declaring what was the true Intent thereof. He likewise brought a distinct Account of the Armada, which consisted of twelve Ships of the Line, two Frigats, seven Galleys, eighteen Galliot, twelve long Barks, two Bomb Vessels, and upwards of four hundred Transports, under the Command of the Count *de Montemar* as Captain-General. They were then assembled, being the beginning of the Month of *June*, in the Port of *Alicant*, and it was expected that the Troops would embark in a few days. The Duke seeing no time was to be lost, immediately communicated his Dispatches, and offered his Imperial Majesty to contribute to the utmost of his power to the Preservation of the Place. *Muly Abdalla* thank'd him for his Zeal, and confided in him.

him so far, as to devolve on him the Care of furnishing *Oran* with every thing necessary for sustaining a long Siege, which he performed very effectually, though it served only to put so many vast Magazines into the hands of the *Spaniards*, though not by his fault. He likewise served in Person in the Army destined to cover that Place, and gave with great Skill and Intrepidity all the necessary Orders for taking such Posts, as might most incommode the Enemy in their Debarkment. *Ali* went also with them at the head of three hundred Horse; and though it could not be expected that he should shew much Conduct as an Officer, yet his alert Zeal was of great use in animating the Troops, and engaging them to remain firm in the Posts assigned them, which hitherto no *Moorish* Troops had ever done. The Weather all this time was extremely favourable, the *Spanish* Fleet being tost at Sea for seven days together, and yet by the great Care and Skill of the Admiral, there was not so much as one Transport lost; so that on the 28th of *June*, N. S. they came into the great Port, which the *Spaniards* call corruptly *Mazalquivir*, and began to make Preparations for debarking the next day, notwithstanding the whole *Moorish* Army was encamped within sight of the Place.

The Duke *de Ripperda*, or rather the Bashaw, was at this time so extremely ill of the Gout, that he could not get out of his Bed, yet he would not be persuaded to retire to any Place of Safety, but remained with the Army, which consisted of twelve thousand Men, exclusive of two thousand, who were destin'd to garison the Place. When he was informed, that Part of the *Spanish* Fleet had been seen steering seven Miles below *Oran*, he sent for *Bigottillos*, who commanded the Garison, and on account of his Sickness the Army also, and told him, that this was only a Feint of the Duke *de Montemar*,

Montemar, whereby he meant to oblige him to divide his Army, but that he should by no means be drawn to do it, but remain firm in his Post, till such time as the *Christian Dogs*, as he called them, should attempt to set foot on shore, when he ought to send several Detachments of Horse to incommode them, without fear of the Artillery of the Ships, which the Duke told him they durst not play before Day-break, for fear of hurting their own Men. All *Ripperda's* Notions were right, and the *Moors* were not a little encourag'd when they consider'd the Foresight of their Commander. They therefore did their Duty extremely well for two Hours, while the first Troops were debarking; but a *Spanish* Serjeant of Dragoons with sixteen Men having possessed himself of a Fountain at a considerable distance from the rest of the Forces, *Ali* surrounded him with three hundred Horse, and attacked him thrice with great Vigour. The Serjeant however kept the Place, though nine of his Men were mortally wounded. This so astonished the *Moorish* Horse, that they could not be brought to attack him a fourth time. By this time, the *Condé de Montemar* being himself ashore, took such a Method in landing his Troops, that notwithstanding the Directions of *Ripperda*, the *Moors* were not able to do him any considerable Mischief. For as each Battalion came ashore, he detached the first Line to an advanced Post, and these moving forward as fast as they could, the Space behind them was left clear for the rest of the Troops to form without Confusion; which Method added so much to the Amazement of the *Moors*, that they retired to the Hills about Noon, and left the Count the rest of the Day to act therein as he thought proper.

When the Duke *de Ripperda* was informed of this, he was extremely chagrined; however he call'd a Council of War, wherein he directed the Operations

tions of the next day, hoping that the *Spaniards*, being extremely fatigued with the Business of the Day before, and the Heat of the Weather, might easily be overpower'd by the multitude of the *Moorish* Army, which was now encreased to twenty thousand Men. The Officers and Soldiers dreading the Duke's Resentment, who spoke with unusual Warmth of their cowardly Behaviour on the twenty-ninth, exerted themselves on the thirtieth of *June*, with extraordinary Resolution, insomuch, that they forced the *Spanish* Infantry posted on the right to give way, whereby the Army was put into some Confusion. The Duke *de Montemar* observing this, did not immediately send Succours that way, but perceiving that the Enemy crouded all their Forces to the left, in order to push the inclining Troops more effectually, he ordered his own left Wing to ascend the Mountains, which by this Motion of the Enemy were left bare; when they had gain'd their point, he powerfully reinforced his right, and as soon as he perceived that they had repulsed the Enemy, he not only sent a fresh Reinforcement, but also began to press forward in the Centre. The *Moors* perceiving that the left Wing of the *Spanish* Army were possessed of the highest Mountains, that their right Wing had gain'd ground, and that in the middle the Count led them on in Person, they began to apprehend they might be surrounded; upon which they threw down their Arms and fled. The Confusion was so great, and the Panick so strong, that there was no stopping it, either by Reasons, Example, or Punishment. The Care of their Safety, and the Preservation of their Substance, took up all their Thoughts; so that the Duke *de Ripperda*, with all his Eloquence and Authority, could not prevail any farther than to be set upon a Camel, that he might run away with the less Danger.

The

The Count *de Montemar* remained with his Army on the top of the Mountains all Night, and on the first of *July* marching to *Oran*, found that strong Place with its five Castles abandon'd, and which was more extraordinary, the Magazines full of Ammunition and Provisions, several thousand Tents standing, most of the Equipage belonging to their Generals, a considerable Sum in Ready-money, and the very Litter which the Duke *de Ripperda* used. They found likewise eighty seven Pieces of Brass, and fifty one of Iron-Cannon, twelve Field-pieces, and seven Mortars. So that they had nothing to do but to regulate the Garison of the Place, and to mark out a Camp for covering it, while some additional Works which were thought necessary were raised.

This accidental taking of *Oran*, seemed to be the immediate Work of Providence, since it is morally certain, that the Bashaw *de Ripperda* had furnished it so well, and put all things into so good a Condition, that if the Garison had done their Duty, they might have defended it several Weeks; in which time the extreme Heat, the Ravages of the *Moors*, and the want of Water and Provisions would in all probability have forced the Christian Army to have re-imbarked without Success. Whereas by this sudden Stroke of pannick Fear, the *Moors* lost the Place and in the Field of Battle, a thousand Men, among whom were several good Officers, together with their Baggage and Artillery, whereas the *Spaniards* had not above two hundred Men kill'd and wounded.

The same Expresses which carried into *Spain* the News of this extraordinary and even unexpected Success, carried at the same time an Account of Bashaw *Ripperda's* Behaviour; whereupon the King of *Spain* immediately gave Orders that he should be degraded from his Rank of Duke and Grandee of *Spain*, which was performed with great Solemnity,

at

at the same time that Thanks was returned to Heaven for the Success accorded by Divine Providence to his Catholick Majesty's Arms.

When the *Moorish* Army had a little recovered that Consternation, which had so strangely and totally possess'd them, they were prevail'd upon to encamp according to the *Duke de Ripperda's* Directions, who dispos'd the scatter'd Remains of his Forces in such a manner, as cover'd some part of the Country, and to prevent in some measure the Effects which the Victory gain'd by the *Spaniards* would otherwise have had. This revived the *Bashaw's* drooping Spirits a little, as it serv'd also to establish his Authority in the Army, where on account of his ill Success it was not a little declined. He wrote also a Letter to the Emperor, wherein he excus'd the Affair the best way he could, and laid the blame on the Obstinacy and Want of Obedience in the Soldiers. In a day or two after he had dispatch'd this Letter, he receiv'd Orders to return to *Mequinez*, without delay; which Order struck him with extraordinary Concern; knowing that the Emperor was very severe in his Punishments, having once order'd a Man of Quality to be sew'd up in a Horse's Hide, with only his Head out, and suffering him to continue there till such time as he was eat up with Maggots. Our *Bashaw* therefore could not be very easy in his Thoughts, while upon such a Journey, nor were his Fears abated on his Arrival at *Mequinez*; where the People curs'd him and his Projects, in his own hearing, and imputed to the evil Influence of his Stars all the Misfortunes that had happen'd. He went however directly to Court, where he was introduced immediately to the Royal Presence. After having made a profound Obeisance, he was about to justify himself; when the Emperor address'd him in these Words: "*Bashaw Ripperda,*

“ I thought your Projects reasonable, otherwise
“ I had not consented to their being put into
“ execution. I am well informed of your whole
“ Behaviour, and am perfectly satisfied therewith;
“ if my Troops did not do their Duty, they ought
“ to be punished for it; and it would be equally
“ cruel and unjust in me to make you answerable
“ for it, who did all you could. Go to your House,
“ refresh your self, and let me see you at Council
“ to-morrow.”

At his Return to his House the fair *Castilian* received him with open Arms; for perceiving that notwithstanding his Change of Religion he did not pretend to keep a Seraglio, she readily forgot what was past, and treated him with her accustomed Tenderness. But her's and his Satisfaction in this Point did not continue long. The Duke found it necessary to pay his Court to the Mother of the reigning Emperor, who, though a Woman much in Years, fell in love with him, and behaved with such Indiscretion, that it reached the Ears of the *Castilian*, whereby the Bashaw lost all hopes of Quiet at home and abroad. To increase all his Trouble, *Muly Hamet*, who had set up a Title to the Empire, began to renew his Courses with a considerable Body of Horse, which put the whole Empire into Confusion, and threatned the Emperor's Life and Power. The Count *de Montemar* in the mean time push'd his Conquests, and talked of nothing less than besieging *Mostagan*; to which Place *Bigottillos* with his Troops was retired. The Care of this Expedition was committed to the Marquis of *Villadarias*, the eldest Lieutenant-General, and formerly a great Friend to *Ripperda*. This Gentleman began his March at the head of four thousand Horse and Foot, on the 24th of *June*; but having waited some time for the Gallies and Bomb-Vessels, and perceiving that they

they were detained by contrary Winds, he, without staying for Orders, retired back to the Camp, where the next day the Count *de Montemar* assembled a Council of General Officers to consider his Conduct. To them the Marquis *de Villadarias* gave an Account of the Motives on which he acted, and of the Necessity he thought himself under of preserving the Troops he had the honour to command. After him, the Marquis of *Santa Cruz* stood up, and, in a long Speech, supported what the Marquis *de Villadarias* had said. To which the *Condé de Montemar* added, that a wise Retreat was more glorious than a lucky Victory; and declared, that considering the Climate, the Dog-Days, and the Condition of the Army, it was his Opinion, they should be immediately re-imbarked for *Spain*; to which the rest of the General Officers assented, and which in a few days was put in execution.

If the Bashaw *de Ripperda* was a little relieved from his Fears by this Incident, he was quickly thrown into a new Panick, by the Emperor's receiving Advice, that *Muly Hamet* had appeared in the Neighbourhood of *Mequinez*, with several thousand Horse. When this was communicated to the Council, they appeared equally distracted and discouraged, as is usual with the *Moors* in time of Danger; but for the Bashaw *de Ripperda*, he behaved in quite another manner. "Sir, said he to the Emperor, I have no hopes but from you, no Desires but what centre in you, I am ready to sacrifice my Life in your Service, and I make no question, but if your Majesty will give me the Command of your Troops, I shall be able to give you a good Account of this Rebel." The Emperor took him at his word, and having drawn together about nine thousand Men, ordered *Ripperda* to march against the Enemy. The Bashaw behaved on this occasion with great Confidence, "he told the

“ Troops under his Command, they had nothing
 “ to do, but to observe his Orders strictly, and
 “ they might rest assured of Victory.” *Muly Hamet* practised several *Moorish* Stratagems, which the Regularity of *Ripperda's* March rendered abortive; so that at last he was forced to hazard a general Engagement, wherein he was totally defeated in an hour and a half, by Dint of *M. Ripperda's* Disposition, who taking the advantage of his marching down a Hill to attack him, sent part of his Troops round, so that by that time they were thoroughly engaged in the Front, *Muly Hamet* found himself attacked in the Flank and in the Rear; upon which, himself and his Army lost their Spirits and fled precipitately. The Duke *de Ripperda* might have made a great Carnage, if he would have suffered his Troops to pursue them; but he was so far from doing this, that he told them, that it was a base thing to kill Men they had beaten; and Cruelty to shed unnecessarily the Blood of their Countrymen. He pursued the same Conduct after a second Victory, which being known to the Troops of *Muly Hamet*, they deserted and left him alone.

On the Return of the Bashaw *de Ripperda* to the Court of *Mequinez*, the Emperor not only received him with all the Marks of Gratitude and Respect which he could wish, but raised him likewise to the highest Dignity in the Empire, that of *Prime Minister* and *Chief Director* of all things, civil and military. A Promotion which would have highly offended the Subjects of the Emperor, if the Wisdom of the Bashaw *de Ripperda* had not suggested to him so artful a Conduct, that even the most envious and the most malicious knew not how to fix upon him any Reproach. He sent for Admiral *Perez* the day after his Promotion, and as soon as he came into the Room, embracing him with all the Marks of Affection, “ The Bashaw *de*
 “ *Ripperda*;

“ *Ripperda*, said he, is now the second Person in
 “ this Empire, cloath’d with an Authority un-
 “ known before, and, though a Subject, more a
 “ Sovereign than many of the Princes in *Europe*.
 “ But after all this, the Bashaw *de Ripperda* is not
 “ only the Slave of *Muly Abdalla*, but the Creature
 “ of *Perez*. I owe all things, my good old Friend,
 “ to your Recommendations, and by following
 “ your Counsels, I hope to conserve the Honours
 “ which your good Offices have procured for me.”
 In like manner he sent for *Ali*, but more privately,
 and after having caressed him in a most extraordi-
 nary manner, “ You see, said he, to what a height
 “ I am risen by your Assistance, be wise enough to
 “ know that you will be always necessary to me, and
 “ consequently that I must be always your Friend;
 “ be assiduous in the Performance of your Duty in
 “ the Camp, and take care to insinuate to the Sol-
 “ diers the Usefulness of that Discipline I endea-
 “ vour to establish. Preserve the Renegades firmly
 “ united, which is the only Method by which they
 “ can be defended from the Envy of the *Moors*,
 “ who, though they acknowledge them to be well
 “ taught *Hounds*, are still for using them like *Dogs*,
 “ when they come from the Field.” A little after
 he went to the Camp, attended by his Friends *Pe-*
rez and *Ali*, and was received by the General *Bi-*
gottillos, with all imaginable Testimonies of pro-
 found Respect. The Bashaw harangued him as he
 had done the rest. “ He assured him, that it was
 “ not either Ambition, or a covetous Desire of in-
 “ joying the Appointments of a General, that had
 “ induced him sometimes to take the Command;
 “ but an earnest Desire to render a Prince, from
 “ whom he had received such Favours, all the Ser-
 “ vice in his power; that for this Reason, the Ge-
 “ neral was not to look upon him as his Competi-
 “ tor, but as a Man who would make it his Business

“ to oblige him, and who would constantly send to
“ the Army whatever was necessary for their Sub-
“ sistence and Conveniency.” *Bigottillos* thank’d
him for these Marks of his Favour, and told him
plainly, that he should find him the most humble
of his Creatures, so long as he remained the same
gracious Minister he now appeared.

While the Bashaw *de Ripperda* was in the Camp,
he received Advice that the *Spaniards* were making
all the necessary Dispositions not only for securing
a Territory about *Oran*, but also of making new
Conquests in the beginning of the Spring; that
with this view they were raising new Works, and
were even bringing large Supplies of Ammunition
from *Ceuta*, that all might be ready on the Arrival
of the Flota from *Spain*. This obliged the Bashaw
to press more hastily than otherwise he would have
done his Correspondents in *Ceuta*, to concert the
Means of delivering up to him the Place. For the
expediting this grand Affair, he made use of his
trusty Instrument *St. Martin*; who having receiv’d
a considerable Reward in Money, and a Pension
of fifty Ducats *per Annum* for his last Service, readi-
ly undertook this new and dangerous Attempt of
getting into *Ceuta*, and delivering there the Letters
with which the Infidel his Master thought fit to
charge him. The Method he chose for executing
this Design was, to pretend himself a Deserter from
the Army of the *Moors*, and as such, he was readily
admitted into the Fortrefs; but as the Governour was
remarkably vigilant, he was soon informed, that this
pretended Deserter behaved in a mysterious man-
ner, upon which he was arrested and examined,
but would confess nothing. Whereupon Orders
were given for putting him to the Torture; but
when he saw the Instruments which were to be
used for that purpose, he fell into a great Agony,
and confessed immediately all that he knew, *viz.*
That

That he was a Domestick of the Bashaw *de Ripperda*, that he had two Letters, and three hundred Ducats, which he was to deliver to a certain Man, who was to have asked for them at a certain Gate, to which he was going, when he was taken up. After this Discovery, which however did not reach the Persons concerned, the Duke's Letters being without Direction; the Governour ordered *St. Martin* to be transported to *Spain*, and delivered up to the Officers of the Inquisition, because he had renounced the Christian Faith and was circumcised.

The News of this Accident, which the Duke *de Ripperda* did not receive till some time after it had happened, by the means of two *French* Deserters, fill'd him with infinite Concern; because he not only lost *St. Martin*, who was both a faithful and a useful Servant, but had likewise his whole Scheme discovered, and of course (tho' his Correspondents were not detected) rendered abortive. But the fair *Castilian* was much more affected; she had conversed so many Years with *St. Martin*, and notwithstanding his Follies and Vices, which were pretty numerous, had such a Regard and innocent Affection for him, that she could not help bewailing his Misfortune with Tears, and even reproached the Bashaw, when he returned to *Mequinez*, for his Insensibility on this head, and for his apparent want of Gratitude for exposing such a Man to such a Fate. To this the Bashaw very coolly reply'd,

" Madam, I am very far from censuring that Pity
 " in you, which becomes your Sex, and the Prin-
 " ciples upon which you act. Neither am I sur-
 " prized at your censuring my Conduct; which
 " however I fancy you will not think altogether so
 " unreasonable, when you remember that I am not
 " wont to spare myself in times of Danger, but ful-
 " fil punctually what I owe to my Character, at
 " the hazard of my Life. *St. Martin* might have

“ refused this Commission, if he had so pleased;
“ but he was willing to run a great Hazard for a
“ great Reward, and his Hopes have deceived
“ him. Is there any thing of Prodigy in this?
“ Or am I accountable for it, if there was? Be
“ wiser another time, and either submit patiently
“ to the Decisions of Providence, or reflect on the
“ Inability of your Sex to judge of the Actions of
“ Men.” To say the truth, *M. de Ripperda* had
things of greater Importance to think of, than the
Death of his unhappy Servant; he had always
piqued himself on taking *Ceuta*, and that Design
having thus miscarried, he had just reason to be
apprehensive of the Emperor’s Displeasure, or at
least the loss of some part of that Interest he had
hitherto in him, which he knew without Success
could not be well preserved.

Upon his first going to Court, he addressed him-
self to his Protectress the Queen-Mother, who dis-
pell’d his Fears, by assuring him she had kept her
Son steady to his Interest, and that he might de-
pend upon as gracious a Reception as ever. Ac-
cordingly when he went to pay his Compliments to
the Emperor, *Muly Abdalla* commended his Beha-
viour, received his Proposals with Applause, and
gave him the strongest Assurances of his Favour,
only he recommended it to him not to remain long
at *Mequinez*, but to return to the Army, and by
harrassing the Christians in *Oran*, to hinder them
from executing their favourite Design of annexing
a considerable Territory to this their new Conquest.
The Bashaw, to demonstrate his Zeal and Affec-
tion for the Emperor’s Service, left *Mequinez* in
three days, tho’ he was but in a very indifferent
State of Health, and felt all the approaching Symp-
toms of a Fit of the Gout, which could not but in-
commode him more in a Camp, than in any other
Place.

On his Return to the Army, he published a sort of Manifesto or Proclamation, containing certain severe Rules of Discipline, and declaring that he would punish with immediate Death any Officer, let his Rank be what it would, who should presume to hesitate on the Receipt of his Orders. This struck the *Moors* with Amazement, and for several days all the Officers of the Army were in the utmost Terrour and Confusion. But the Bashaw *de Ripperda* conversing with them as familiarly as ever, making no new Regulations, and assuring them frequently, that he had no other Design but to maintain that Discipline, which was necessary for their own safety; they began to resume their Spirits, and even to esteem that General, whom they had lately looked on with Aversion. As to the Soldiers, the Bashaw did not take pains to keep any such Measures with them; on the contrary, he set up Gallows's all round his Camp, and loaded them plentifully with such as were guilty of plundering, defrauding, or insulting the Country People. By this Method he quite changed the face of things, and established such an Order in the *Moorish* Camp, as astonished all who beheld it. He visited the advanced Posts every day in Person, though by reason of the Gout he was set on Horseback, and taken off like a Child. About his Person, he had continually a Guard of twenty *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* Renegades, all Men of determined Courage, and so attached to him, that they would every one of them have died to preserve him. With these, and the best of the *Moorish* Cavalry, he frequently drove the *Spanish* Detachments to the Gates of *Oran*. Once however falling in the way of three hundred *Spanish* Horse, commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel, after a brisk Dispute, in which sixty-eight *Moors* were killed, the Bashaw had his Horse shot under him, and was in the utmost Danger of
being

being made Prisoner. One of his Guards however threw him across his Horse, and with much ado brought him off, to the great Joy of the Infidels, who, in all probability, would have dispersed, had he been either kill'd or taken. But tho' by this Method of managing the military Forces of the Empire of *Morocco*, Bashaw *Ripperda* made it more considerable than it had ever been; and tho' he prevented the *Spaniards* from making that use of *Oran* which they intended, yet so clear-sighted a Man as he was could not help perceiving, that all he had done would not fully answer his purpose, because after all, *Ceuta* was not taken, *Oran* was unrecovered, and his own Army, though it was better disciplined, decreased daily both by Death and Desertion. He therefore resolved to return once more to *Mequinez*, there to propose some new Expedients, which he hoped might rectify all that was amiss, and enable him to perform the mighty Promises he had made *Muly Abdalla*, and the great Hopes the *Moors* themselves had formed of his restoring their ancient Reputation. With this view, he committed the Care of all things to *Bigottillos*, leaving with him two Cautions; one of which was, not to relax the smallest Point of Discipline; the other, never to leave the Garison at *Oran* in quiet. This done, he set out with *Ali* for the Emperor's Court under a good Escort of Horse.

When the Bashaw arrived at *Mequinez*, he gave the Emperor a very favourable Account of his Troops; he informed him, that they began to improve extremely in their Discipline, and that he made no question, but that his Army would become as good and as regular, as that of any Prince in the World. But for the quicker Accomplishment of his Majesty's Designs, it would be of great Importance to negotiate a new Treaty with the States of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoly*, that they might furnish Ships
of

of War and Transports, on any occasion his Majesty might have to make use of them; he further advised, that moderate Terms should be immediately offered to the free *Moors*, who at this time were in Arms against the Emperor, and who were allowed to be the best Soldiers in *Barbary*, and who, in case they could be brought to enter into his Service, would considerably increase the Army before *Ceuta*, not only by their numbers, but by the Reputation of their Courage and martial Atchievements. *Muly Abdalla* listened to both the Proposals, and in a few days the Officer he sent to the General of the free *Moors*, with his own and the Bashaw *de Ripperda's* Letters, returned with the agreeable News, that the Offers he made were readily accepted, and that he had seen them on full March to *Ceuta*. The Bashaw did not remain long after receiving this Advice at *Mequinez*, but made haste to join the Army, in hopes that now he should find it in a Condition capable of executing his utmost Vengeance on the *Spaniards*. He found them about two Leagues distant from *Ceuta*, and was informed at the same time, that the Garison of that Place, being strongly reinforced, were marched out into the Field. The Bashaw, charmed at this News, made a long Discourse to the Army, wherein having first exposed the tyrannical Fury of the *Spaniards*, the Injuries they had done their Ancestors, and their present Design to subdue *Barbary*, and reduce them All to the wretched Condition of Slaves; or which was worse, of being *Christian Dogs*, (as to gratify this People he called 'em) he exhorted them to follow his Example, who was then about to lead them against their Enemies and his own. The *Moors* were so transported by his inflaming Eloquence, that they expressed their Rage, like Beasts, by loud Cries and horrid Noises. The Bashaw however knew what they meant; and while they

they were in this Situation drew them up in Order of Battle, and marched immediately to meet the *Spanish Forces*.

The Engagement was long and bloody, the Infidels, contrary to their wonted Custom, fighting boldly hand to hand, and rallying three or four times, which they had never done before. The Duke, during the whole Action, not only exposed his Person as much as any private Man, but rode to each separate Corps, exhorted, encouraged, charged with and rallied them, till at length, after prodigious Efforts, the *Spaniards* were totally defeated, and were forced to retire in great Confusion towards *Ceuta*; the Cavalry, under the Command of the eldest Son of *Bigottillos* had them in Chace all the way, and cut the greatest part of them to pieces, entering the Out-works with them; so that the Garison were obliged to shut out many of the Fugitives to prevent the Infidels from entering the Place. At their return to the Camp, Bashaw *Ripperda* made a sort of a triumphal Oration, by which he pushed the Madness of his Army to such a height, that there seemed not to be a Man amongst them, who had any longer Regard for Self-preservation; his Officers in the mean time scatter'd such extravagant Accounts of his Behaviour in the late Battle, that, on the one hand, the Emperor sent him a rich Vest, with this short Message, *That he should proceed, since to exceed was no longer possible*. On the other hand, some Persons of Distinction who had always attended *Muly Hamet*, and were now with him in the distant Kingdom of *Taffilet*, left him, and by forced Marches reached the Camp of the Bashaw *Ripperda*, to whom they declared they were come to die under his Command, against the Enemies of their Country. To which the Bashaw answered civilly, Not to die, my Friends, but, by the Blessing of God, to conquer. These Accidents encouraged

encouraged this haughty and ambitious Man to open the Siege of *Ceuta* in form, at the same time that upwards of thirty thousand Men were sent under the Command of *Ali*, to assist in making the Siege of *Oran*.

In order to carry his Design into execution, the Bashaw drew his Forces nearer to the City and Forts of *Ceuta*, and when he was at a convenient Distance, began to break ground. While he was thus employed, two Christian Spies got into the Camp, and spread a Report, that a great Flota was arrived from *Spain*, and that very speedily the *Moors* would be block'd up in their Intrenchments. The Army appearing to be much affected at this News, and betraying some Signs of Fear, the Bashaw gave Order, that the Infantry should remain in the Lines, while himself at the head of the Cavalry marched and faced the Enemy. But finding by this March, that this Report was only an Artifice of the Governor's, to hinder his carrying on his Works, he, on his Return, ordered both the Christian Deserters to be impaled upon one Stake; a Cruelty unknown even to the *Barbarians*, and which struck all who beheld it with Horrour. But it was not long before he was severely punished for this Act of Inhumanity.

Two Christian Slaves, who were present at this Execution, afflicted at the Fate of their Brethren, firmly resolved to revenge it. With this Intention they took, as they had an Opportunity, a full View of the Dispositions of the Infidels, and when they had so done, they in the Night travelled, loaded with Chains as they were, towards *Ceuta*; happily for them they were not missed till Morning, about which time they fell in with a *Spanish* Piquet, and by them were carried into the Town. They were immediately conducted to the Governor, to whom they gave an Account, that the *Moors* were in such high

high Spirits, since the last Action, that the Bashaw *de Ripperda* could not oblige them to take the Precautions that he thought necessary ; so that they lay stragling along the Line, their advanced Guards being at a great distance from the head Quarters. This being exactly conformable to other Advices that he had received, the Governor called a Council of War, in which he proposed making a general Sally, in order to disable the Enemy from carrying on the Siege. This Proposition was received with general Approbation, and was executed the next Morning before it was Day, by five Detachments commanded by *Don Joseph Aramburo*, *Count Maboni*, and several other Officers of Distinction, to the number of six thousand Men, exclusive of five hundred Pioneers. This Affair was so well conducted, that the *Moors* were driven out of the Trenches, the Trenches themselves fill'd up, the Cannon nail'd, the head Quarters plundered, and the Bashaw *de Ripperda* forced to fly in his Shirt on horseback to *Tetuan*, the greatest part of his Infantry being cut to pieces. The *Moorish* Cavalry behaved quite in another manner, they formed in the Plain behind their Works, charged the Enemy vigorously, gave time to some Corps of Foot to form behind them, who afterwards returned to their Posts ; so that after seven hours Fight, the *Spanish* Troops retired into the Place with a great Booty, several Standards, and other Trophies of Honour.

As it is no easy matter to be long on good Terms with the Multitude, so the Army took occasion from the Accident which had befallen the Bashaw *de Ripperda*, to despise his Authority, and to declare positively that he should not return to his Command ; of which when he received Advice, it threw him into a deep Melancholy, from an Apprehension, that the Emperor, on the first News of

of it, would give him up in order to pacify his Troops. However, that he might not be wanting to himself, he wrote to his great Protectress, and to her Son at the same time, excusing in the best manner possible, what had happened, and throwing the whole Weight of these Disorders and ill Success on the mutinous Disposition of the *Moorish* Army, concluding with vehement Protestations of his own Integrity, with some Hints of his former Zeal and good Fortune. The Emperor, on the Receipt of these Letters, was not a little embarrassed. On the one hand, he desired to protect the Duke *de Ripperda*; on the other, he was afraid of disobliging so numerous a Body of Troops. But his Mother, who had such an Ascendency over him, that she was able to persuade him to what she pleased, exerted in favour of *Ripperda* all her Eloquence. "Son, said she, it is not his, but your Authority, which the *Moors* despise; the Danger is yet at a distance, restore him to his Command, and he will preserve you upon the Throne, from which otherwise these Rebels will quickly drive you, to place thereon *Muly Hamet*, whose secret Adherents they are." The Council, who were about the Emperor, joined with his Mother, whether out of that mean Complaisance, which is the Mode in most Courts, or from an Opinion, that her Advice suited best with their kind of Government, I pretend not to determine. However, amongst them, they blew the Emperor into such a Fit of Rage and Fury, that he resolved to go in Person to the Army, and there to sacrifice all things to the Re-establishment of the Bashaw. What a Field is here for a Man versed in Politicks to descant on? For my part, the little I have of this sort of Knowledge has taught me, that the Ways of some Kings are inscrutable, and the Ways of others not worthy of being searched.

The

The King, followed by the whole Court, and by his Council, at the head of which was Admiral *Perez*, who, on this occasion, stuck fast by his Friend, set out from *Mequinez* for the Camp before *Ceuta*, leaving the City under the Protection of a strong Garison; and under the Government of the old Queen. But they were scarce departed, before *Mequinez* was all in an Uproar; the People ran together in Crouds, cursing the Queen-Mother, the *Dutch* Bashaw, and all their Adherents. The chief Burghers of the Place might easily have calmed this Tumult if they would, but they most unaccountably did all they could to increase it; insomuch, that at last the People assembled by thousands about the Palace; and though they did not break into it, yet by loud Cries, and by the most impudent Threats, they terrified to the last degree all who were therein. As for the Queen-Mother, she hid herself in the Garden; where, by the Coolness of the Night-Air and the Dew, she got her Death. For, two hours after she was found and brought into the Palace by one of her faithful Eunuchs, she expired in Convulsions, after having expressed herself to those about her in these Terms: "Tell the Emperor
 " *Muly Abdalla*, my Son, that his Mother regret-
 " ted but two things at her Death. That she had
 " not the Comfort of seeing him, or of recommend-
 " ing to him the illustrious *Ripperda*; tell him how-
 " ever, that dying I commend him to Providence,
 " and that brave Man to his Care." When it was known in the City that she was dead, every Man kept close in his House, and all the Inhabitants were struck with the utmost Terror; and well they might. For though *Muly Abdalla* was a Prince of great Justice, and not at all inclined to Blood in peaceable times; yet in such Confusions as these, when his Crown and Life were alike struck at, he
 was

was too apt to exceed in Severity all who had reigned before him.

The Presence of the Emperor effected in the Camp all that could be expected from it, the Army returned to its Duty, and received with all Marks of submission the Bashaw *de Ripperda* for their General. In all probability, he would have punished some of those who were most culpable, in the late Transactions, if the News of his Mother's Death had not arrived, and determined his immediate Return to *Mequinez*. He did so, and the Inhabitants, with that meanness natural to an enslaved People, crowded the Streets to look upon him, and testified by thundering Acclamations their Joy at his Presence. This Dissimulation, far from pacifying the Emperor, provoked him so much the more, he knew not what to trust to among so mutable a People, and therefore resolved to shew them what they had to trust to in him. Some of the principal Inhabitants in the City, he caused to be seized and strangled immediately in his Presence. He intended to treat in the same manner the principal Officers of his Mother's Guards; but he was dissuaded by Admiral *Perez*, who advised to send first for a Reinforcement of Troops from the Army, before he provoked so dangerous a People any farther. The Emperor easily discerned the Rectitude of this Advice, and therefore followed it, dispatching a Letter the next day to the Bashaw *Ripperda*, with Orders to send on the Receipt thereof 700 Men to *Mequinez*, under the Command of a faithful and experienced Officer, in order to reinforce the Garison, which he readily and punctually performed, knowing how much it imported himself to preserve the Emperor in Safety.

On the Approach of this Detachment, the whole City of *Mequinez* was terribly alarmed. Its Inhabitants conceived easily, that the Emperor had in view the revenging the Death of his Mother, and this struck them with such Apprehensions, that presently

sently the Shops were shut, and most of the principal Houses abandoned; however, few of the chief Citizens saved their Lives. The Garison had Orders to seize all who attempted to go out, and the Detachment secured such as they met with in their March. As soon as these Troops arrived from the Camp, they relieved the old Garison in all their Posts, and then the Carnage began. The chief Officers of the Guards were strangled in the Emperor's fight; as for the private Men of the Garison, they escaped with each of them a severe *Bastinado*; after which, they were condemned to work in the same manner with Christian Slaves.

As for the Citizens seized in the Place, or endeavouring to escape, they too were condemned by the Emperor to various cruel Deaths, and were executed without mercy; such Christians as were among them became Food for the Lions in the Emperor's Parks. The People in the adjacent Provinces look'd with Astonishment on these bloody Transactions, and either out of horror at what they beheld, or from a Principle of Self-Preservation, they took Arms; and that they might not be without a Chief, they declared for *Muly Hamet*, the old Competitor against *Abdalla*, who received them with open Arms, and quickly put himself at their head, which rendered them extreamly formidable to the Emperor, who stood now much in need of that Courage which he really had, notwithstanding he rarely shewed it; though it must be allow'd, at this juncture, he exerted himself very properly.

The first Step he took, was to give *Bashaw Rip-perda* Notice of this Accident, and to demand of him a Body of Forces, sufficient to look the Enemy in the face. Our Statesman, who had but an indifferent Opinion of all things, which did not incommode or aggrandize himself, would willingly have resolved this into meer Apprehension. But not daring, in such an Empire, to do this, he sent the

the *Bashaw* of *Taxar* with some pick'd Troops to the Emperor's Assistance. This *Bashaw* was one of *Ripperda's* chief Favourites. A Man brave in Battle, brutal in Behaviour, one who had studied War thoroughly, and who had probably never studied so hard, if he had not spent his Patrimony, and taken up Fighting for a Living. The Employment he had was not very considerable, but the Recommendation he brought from *Bashaw Ripperda*, wrought effectually in his favour at Court; so that the Emperor received him most graciously, and treated him with the utmost Confidence. The *Bashaw*, pleased with these Marks of Distinction, exerted himself briskly in compleating his Levies, so that they were instantly finished, and himself ready to take the Field, with three thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse.

The Army of *Muly Hamet* was far more numerous. That Prince was brave, enterprizing, and, for the present, much in the good Graces of the People. In this Situation, the *Bashaw* of *Taxar* march'd out of *Mequinez*, and advanced towards the Enemy, meerly to encourage the Emperor's Party, and to awe the Malecontents, knowing well, that without the Appearance of Force, Duty was not to be expected in *Barbary*. He had not marched far from that City before he received Advice, that in a Town two Miles distant, some thousands of the Enemy had taken post, and that at a small distance behind them lay *Muly-Hamet*, and all his Army. The *Bashaw* perceiving the Danger he was in, and the vast Advantage the Rebels had over him, resolved to try whether Stratagem might not effect what was not to be hoped for by force. The Stratagem he formed was this:

He went in Person to take a View of the Town the Enemy possess'd, and perceiving that it had a Mountain before it, and a thick Wood to the Right, he ordered all his Cavalry under the Command of a

Catalonian Renegado to march instantly, and take post behind the Wood; at the same time he order'd his Infantry to march to the Foot of the Mountain, and there to lie on their Arms till farther Orders. This being done with six hundred chosen Men, he advanced to the Entrance of the Town, where he stop'd short, and began to intrench diligently, as afraid of being attacked. By this means he hoped to draw the Enemy out of the Town into the Field, where he should be better able to deal with them, his Cavalry being ready to attack them in the Flank and Rear, at the same time his Infantry from behind the Mountain join'd him and charged in Front.

The thing fell out exactly as he had foreseen. The Enemy believing the Bashaw's whole Army was there, attacked them vigorously before they were well encamped; and after a slight Resistance, the Bashaw retired in the best order he could towards the Mountain. Upon this supposed Flight, all the Troops in the Town issued out in pursuit. But when they came near the Mountain, the Bashaw drawing his Men into a Line, cry'd out in a Fury, *Advance, my Friends, these Dogs are devoted to Destruction.* His small Detachment at these Words recovered their Spirits, and charged like Madmen. The Gross of the Bashaw's Infantry drew on both sides from behind the Mountain, and the Cavalry charging in the same Instant the Enemy in the Rear, they were quickly defeated, and the Bashaw having forbid Quarter, were in a manner all put to the Sword, and the Town was likewise taken, sack'd, and burnt.

On the News of this fatal Accident, the Army of *Muly Hamet*, like true *Moors*, deserted him and left him with a few faithful Friends and Domesticks, to make his Escape to the Mountains to save his Life. As soon as he was gone, the Bashaw, Commandant of the Emperor's Forces, believing that

that a ruin'd People would find something else to do than to rebel, not only plundered all the Country round about, but burn'd and destroyed it in such a manner, that there was no possibility of finding Food or Forage even for the miserable People, and the few Cattle he left behind him. On his Return to *Mequinez*, he was received by the Emperor with Transports of Joy; but as for the Inhabitants, though they pretended to sympathize with their Masters, yet they did it but awkwardly, and could not help shewing some signs of Sorrow and Discontent.

One would have thought this News would have been more agreeable to the Bashaw *de Ripperda* than to any Man else; but it happened quite otherwise. The Apprehension of losing the Emperor's Favour haunted him continually, and persuaded him that every Man, who was in a Capacity of disputing with him the Friendship of that Monarch must be his Rival, and capital Enemy of course. Many ways he considered for defeating the Designs of the Bashaw of *Taxar*, who, in all probability, never formed any against him; at last he thought of one more moderate and more effectual than the rest. It was this; he determined to resign, with the Emperor's leave, the Command of the Army, and to name for his Successor a Person, who might cover him from the Rage of his Enemies, and even from that of the Bashaw of *Taxar*, if he was so already, or should in process of Time become so. With this view he wrote a Letter to the Emperor, wherein he represented to him, that his Age and Infirmities made it impossible for him to execute with that Alacrity and Diligence his Office of General in Chief of his Majesty's Forces, and therefore desired his Permission to lay down his Command, that the Soldiers might be under that of a younger Person, who might not only issue his Orders, but teach them to execute them exactly by his example. The Emperor, who was really as much in his Interest as

ever, and not the less so for having the Bashaw of *Taxar* about his Person, readily yielded to his Advice, and gave him, as the Bashaw foresaw he would, leave to name his Successor; assuring him at the same time, that all things should be directed by his Counsels, and that in respect to any Provisions, Ammunition, and Quarters of the Army, they were to depend upon him as much as before. The Bashaw published these Orders at the Head of the Army the Evening of the same day he received them, and the next Morning declared the Renegade *Ali* General in Chief in his stead. This was one of the wisest Steps he ever took, since it effectually secured to him the Affection of the new General, and of the Army; the former knew he owed his Advancement entirely to the Bashaw *Ripperda's* Choice; and the latter were extremely well pleased to see an Officer promoted to the supreme Command, who made it the business of his Life to provide all Necessaries, and all Conveniencies for the Soldiers. Thus the Army was settled entirely to his Satisfaction.

It may not be amiss to remark here the very great Folly of committing Armies, Treasury, Fleets, Councils, all to one Man's care. If that Man be unequal to the charge, the Sovereign is apparently in danger from his want of Capacity. On the other hand, if he be equal to such a charge, no Sovereign can be safe from such a Capacity.

The regulating Matters at Court gave the Bashaw *de Ripperda* more trouble, as they required a great deal more Circumspection; he found however a Method of managing all things about the Emperor, which had escaped the Penetration of all his Predecessors. That Method was this: He had for a Spy every Jew in *Mequinez*, and he found Ways and Means to introduce the Jews every where. He made use of them as his Brokers in purchasing
Goods;

Goods; as his Agents, in remitting Money; as his Factors, in all foreign Countries; and as the Managers of his Concerns at Court; by this means he made his Interest theirs, he delivered them in a great measure from that Terrour under which they had hitherto lived, he was equally firm and punctual in all things which he promised them; and to their great Interest, which was everlastingly employed for the promoting of his Service, the Bashaw was indebted for the Continuance of his Power after the Death of the Queen-Mother, and his quitting the Command in the Army. I know it will seem not a little strange to the inquisitive Reader, that after having represented the *Jews* as the most despicable People in this extensive Empire, I should now come and say, that they in a manner directed all things. In order to explain this, I need only observe, that Parasites, Pimps, and Prostitutes are, of all others, the most despicable sort of People every where, and yet these too frequently have govern'd great Kingdoms; or, which is much the same thing, have influenced such as governed them in all their Actions. There is therefore no Absurdity in my saying, that the *Jews* were despicable in the eyes of the Inhabitants of *Morocco* and *Fez*, and at the same time affirming, that they managed all things, as they were fit Tools for an able and enterprizing Minister, who knowing well the Force of their insinuating Temper, spared neither Care nor Expence to make his Praises the principal Object of their Insinuations, which with the Great preserved to him the Reputation of a wise and intrepid Statesman, and procured him amongst the common People the Character of an easy, compassionate, and well-condition'd Man.

The Army of the *Moors* being increased to fifty thousand Men towards the end of the Summer One thousand seven hundred and thirty-two, they invested

vested *Oran*; that is to say, a Corps of Troops under the Command of *Bigottillos* besieged the Castle of *Santa Cruz*, and another Corps of Troops under the Command of the Son of the late *Dey of Algiers*, lay encamped on the side of a Mountain over-against the Castle to cover the Siege, while *Ali* with his Forces lay still at a greater distance, in order to support both Armies, as there should be Occasion, and to succour either if it should be attack'd. As *Bigottillos* was formerly Governour of *Oran*, he pressed the Siege with all imaginable Vigilance; insomuch, that by the latter end of the Month of *September*, he had reduced the Castle of *Santa Cruz* to great Extremities, and was actually preparing to storm it. The Marquis de *Santa Cruz*, who commanded in *Oran*, perceiving the necessity there was of hazarding all things for the Relief of that Place, committed the Care of this important Enterprize to Sir *Charles Wogan*, an *Irish* Gentleman, who was a Colonel in the *Spanish* Service. In the Morning before he marched out with his Detachment, the Marquis de *Santa Cruz* brought all the Artillery of the Place to bear upon the Retrenchments thrown up by the Troops, under the Command of the Son of the *Dey of Algiers*, and made such other Dispositions as engaged the *Dey* to send for strong Reinforcements from *Bigottillos*. As soon as the *Spaniards* perceived the *Moors* in full March on this side, Colonel *Wogan* marched out with his Detachment, which he drew into Order of Battle, so as to cover the Edge of a deep Valley, where the *Moors* lay generally in Ambuscade. This Disposition distracted the *Moors* more than the other, *Bigottillos* recall'd his Troops; but before they returned, the Head of the Convoy of Ammunition and Provisions was actually entering the Fort of *Santa Cruz*, under the Fire of their Batteries, which was so warm from the Prospect of their being well supply'd, that the

Moors

Moors durst not disturb them. *Bigottillos* however drew immediately a great Body of Troops into the Valley, with an intent to have cut off the Retreat of the Convoy, or at least to have obliged the Detachment which escorted it to fight upon very unequal Terms. Colonel *Wogan* penetrating his Design, ordered two Companies of Grenadiers to possess themselves of the Pass through which the Enemy were to pass, in order to cut off the Convoy. This they performed so happily, that the *Moors* were obliged to retire, and to regain their Batteries, from whence they fired with such effect, that a Spanish Officer was killed by a Cannon-shot, another wounded, and Colonel *Wogan* so covered with Dust, that he could hardly see. By nine in the Morning the Convoy had set out again from the Castle of *Santa Cruz*, and Colonel *Wogan* began his Retreat. In order to this, the Cavalry of the Detachment was ordered to make a Front towards the Sea, to cover six Companies of Grenadiers, who were posted under the Rock of *Santa Cruz*, three Companies being to return to that Castle, and the other three to that of *Oran*. But while Colonel *Wogan* passed to and fro in giving his Orders, he unluckily received a Musket-shot, which disabled him so, that he was forced to quit the Field, and leave the Command to the Marquis *de Turbilly* his Lieutenant-Colonel. This unlucky Accident, either made the Horse forget the Commands they had received, or else they had them repeated in such a manner as they misunderstood; so that defiling too soon, they left the six Companies of Grenadiers absolutely uncovered; of which the Enemy taking advantage, they were very rudely treated, and obliged to retire in great Confusion. This however was nothing comparable to the Loss of the *Moors*, which fell little short of two thousand Men, among whom were nineteen Officers of Distinction, and one of the

the Sons of *Bigottillos*. There being now no longer any hopes of reducing the Fort of *Santa Cruz*, the *Moors*, in all probability, would have raised the Siege, if their Spirits had not been elevated by the Arrival of the Fleet from *Algiers*, which was the largest that piratical State had ever fitted out: It consisted of twelve Men of War of the Line, the Admiral carrying sixty-six Pieces of Cannon, four large Saicks, seven Galliots, and near five thousand Men. A mighty Force this, from which great things were expected, and which notwithstanding performed little or nothing.

The News of this Armament of *Algiers* awaken'd the *Spanish* Court, which hitherto had not shewn a proper Regard to the repeated Instances of the Marquis *de Santa Cruz*; the Terrour of seeing this new Conquest lost, which had cost the Crown of *Spain* such immense Sums, obliged the Ministry to make a very extraordinary Effort. They immediately ordered such Troops as were nearest to the Sea-Coasts to embark at *Alicant*, where by laying an Embargo on the Vessels of all Nations, they found Transports sufficient for their purpose. This Convoy was escorted by seven *Spanish* Men of War and three Ships of *Malta*. The *Algerine* Squadron having notice of their Departure from *Spain*, and being informed, that several Vessels bore *Maltese* Colours, they were struck with such a Panick, that they retired after debarking about two thousand five hundred *Turks* and Renegades, who immediately marched to the Camp of the *Moors*. If they had not made this precipitate Retreat, they might in all probability have done the *Spaniards* a great deal of Mischief; for the Weather growing very tempestuous, the Transports were separated from their Convoy, and arrived by degrees at *Oran*, where they went on shore on the 20th of *November* 1732. They were muster'd with the Garison the same Evening,
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and the Marquis *de Santa Cruz* advancing to the Front of the *Walloon* Guards, made them this short Speech: "Gentlemen, the King my Master sent you "to be Witnesſes of the raiſing the Siege of *Oran*, and "by the Grace of God you ſhall ſee it very quickly "done." After this Review, he held a Council of War, wherein he acquainted the General Officers, that though the *Moorish* Army was very numerous, yet their Fire-Arms were in a very bad Condition, and their Engineers very unfit for the Office they had undertaken; he therefore propoſed the attacking them the next Morning in their Trenches, by which means they muſt neceſſarily ſurprize them, ſince they could not but ſuppoſe a Day's Reſt neceſſary for the Refreshment of the Troops, after their extraordinary Fatigue at Sea. The Council unanimouſly approved this Plan, and Orders being inſtantly given for putting it into execution, all things were ſo diſpoſed, that before it was light the Troops were under Arms.

About ſeven in the Morning, on the 21ſt of *November*, the Marquis *de Santa Cruz* marched out of *Oran* at the head of eight thouſand Men. He had prepared the Scheme of the Attack long before, and the Diſpoſitions he made were ſo judicious, that though the Enemy were five to one, yet after a vigorous Attack, which laſted five hours, the *Spaniards* forced the Retrenchments every where, made themſelves Maſters of their Cannon, ſome of which they carried off, nail'd others, and threw the reſt down Precipices; they likewise burnt their Tents, blew up their Magazines, and were buſy in plundering their Baggage; when, on a ſudden, the Baſhaw *Ali*, having with much ado rallied his Forces, attempted to repoſſeſs himſelf of his Camp. The *Spaniards*, deſirous of keeping what they had got, and elate with Victory, made a moſt obſtinate Reſiſtance; but were at laſt put into confuſion, and obliged

obliged to fly, especially the Cavalry, whereby the Foot of course would have been left to the Mercy of the Enemy, that is, to be cut to pieces. The Marquis *de Santa Cruz*, who hitherto had not exposed his Person, accompanied by some Officers, put himself at the head of a Squadron of Dragoons, and marching to the left, formed the flying Cavalry in a Valley as fast as they arrived. Having drawn together a considerable Body, and left his Orders with some Officers who remained upon the spot, he went to charge the *Moors* in the Flank, who were on the very point of forcing his Infantry. He was so fortunate as to perform what he wished for in this Encounter; that is, he disconcerted the *Moors*, gave the *Spanish* Cavalry time to form and to rejoin their Foot, so that they made a good Retreat; but in the mean time himself being overborn by numbers, fell grievously wounded from his Horse, and was taken Prisoner. The *Moors* who were nearest him stripped him immediately of the Ensigns he wore of his military Orders, of his Gold Watch and Diamond Ring, and then fell to quarrelling about his Person. At last, one of them suggesting, that their General would certainly oblige them to restore to this Officer, whoever he was, the things they had taken from him; to prevent this, they cut off his Head, and chop'd his Body all to pieces. A Barbarity worthy of the Actors, and ignominious to Mankind.

Thus fell the Marquis *de Santa Cruz* in the Flower of his Age, which was not above fifty, after having merited the Reputation of one of the ablest Statesmen, and one of the best Officers of the Age in which he lived. His Name at length was Don *Alvaro de Navia-Osorio*, Viscount *de Puerto*, Marquis *de Santa Cruz*, Chief of a most illustrious Family in the Principality of *Asturias*, Colonel of a Regiment of Foot at fifteen, and serving in that Quality,

Quality, from the Year 1702 to the Peace of *Utrecht*. He was afterwards Minister at the Court of the King of *Sardinia*, where he spent his time in a very extraordinary manner for a publick Minister; for perceiving, that a light Gallantry and a supercilious Contempt for solid Literature grew much in fashion among the young Nobility, he formed a sort of Assembly at his House, wherein he not only took the pains to shew the Use and Excellency of a contrary Conduct, but even condescended to become a Preceptor, a Professor of the Mathematicks, and a Master of Exercises, that he might re-establish a just Sense of Virtue, Wisdom and true Religion. Many anonymous Letters were sent to King *Victor Amadeus*, intimating, that this was a Piece of *Spanish* Policy, but the King shewed them publicly, and said, *My Subjects will do me a sensible Favour, if they attend the Marquis de Santa Cruz's Lectures, had I leisure I would go thither myself.* At the time the Treaty of *Hanover* was made, there were great Offers stipulated by a foreign Minister, in case he would enter into it. The King had the Goodness to ask the Marquis de Santa Cruz's Advice. *Shall I give it your Majesty freely,* said he? *Yes,* said the King, *speaking as freely as you please, Marquis.* *Why then,* continued he, *these Folk who bid so high in time of Peace, will bid still higher when the Sword comes to be drawn, stay till then.* He was also Minister in *France* and *Holland*, and notwithstanding the Multitude and Importance of his Employments, he composed in *Spanish* a Work intitled, *Political and Military Reflections*, of which ten Volumes in 4to. were printed in *Turin* before his Death; he had also undertaken another still more laborious Work, viz. making a Collection of all the Treaties made by the Crown of *Spain*, in which he had proceeded a great way, before he was sent first to *Ceuta*, and then to *Oran*. His Catholick Majesty endeavour'd to

to repair his Loss to his Family by extraordinary Liberalities. He gave his Widow half her Husband's Appointments for Life; to his eldest Son, a Commandery worth eight thousand Pieces of Eight; to his second Son, a Troop of Horse; to his youngest, a Company of Foot. But to return to the proper Business of these Memoirs.

This Victory, though it was of vast Advantage to the *Spaniards*, yet did it cost them excessively dear. For, besides the Marquis de Santa Cruz, Governour-General of the Conquests in *Africa*, there fell the Marquis de Valdecagnas, Brigadier-General, Don Joseph Pinel, Colonel of Foot, a hundred other Officers, and between nine hundred and a thousand private Men, besides double that number who were wounded. As for the *Moors*, they had four thousand Men killed upon the spot, a Multitude of Renegade Officers, and the Bashaw *Ali* himself was so grievously wounded, that it was doubted whether he could recover. As soon as Bashaw *Ripperda* received Advice of this unlucky Blow, he ordered a Tent to be set up at some distance from *Tetuan*, whither his Friend *Ali* was conducted; who, besides the Grief and Anguish of his Wounds, was at his wit's end, lest the Emperor should revenge the Defeat of his Troops upon him. The Bashaw *Ripperda* did all that was in his power to keep up his Spirits, and to ingage him to contribute all that in his power lay to his Recovery; which could not but be retarded, if not render'd entirely impracticable, if he gave himself up to Melancholy, and refused, as at first he did, the help of Physicians. As for what has happened, said the Bashaw *Ripperda*, the Emperor if he makes any body accountable must make me so, for it was I who recommended you to this Command. These sort of Speeches recovered *Ali* a little; but his Cure was in a manner effected, by the Receipt of a Letter from the Emperor, complimenting him on his
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Courage and Activity, and assuring him, that his Majesty would always retain a just Sense of the great Zeal he had shewn in his Service. When Order was a little restored in the Army, and the Generals who had retired from thence, were, with much ado, persuaded to resume their Commands, the Bashaw *Ripperda* left *Tetuan* to go to *Mequinez*, in order to receive his Imperial Majesty's Commands. After his Arrival, several great Councils were held in the Presence of him and of Admiral *Perez*, who, notwithstanding his great Age and many Infirmities, had been all the Summer at Sea, and had performed some very extraordinary Exploits. The Result of these Deliberations was, that the Army should be immediately put into Quarters of Refreshment, that they should be there punctually paid, and as punctually exercised, till the Season of the Year should call them into the Field. That during this Recess from Action, Ways and Means should be found out to raise the necessary Supplies; for which purpose, the Bashaw *Ripperda* recommended his *Jews*, who, with wonderful Industry, devised various Methods of stripping the poor People of the little Substance they had left.

It not seeming necessary to Bashaw *Ripperda*, that he should be present in any Councils held for imposing Taxes, under pretence of taking care of the Army, he retired very speedily to *Tetuan*, where he lived as usual in great Splendor, and at a vast Expence. In order to conciliate the Minds of the principal Officers, he invited them to leave the Army sometimes, and to come and dine with him by turns; which accordingly they did, and were not only magnificently treated, but received with all imaginable Respect. Among the rest, the Bashaw of *Taxar* went to pay his Compliments, notwithstanding the Coldness that had been between him and the Bashaw *Ripperda*, ever since he defeated

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Muly Hamet. Bashaw *Ripperda* received him very kindly, and the other having assured him, that notwithstanding some Marks of Disrespect he had since received, he would always remember that his good Fortune came from him; Bashaw *Ripperda* on his side swore, he would be everlastingly his Friend. These Compliments over, they sat down to Dinner; but before they had eat a bit, an Officer, who had been at the Camp to inquire for the Bashaw of *Taxar*, entered the Room, and desired to speak in the Emperor's Name with the Bashaw *de Ripperda*. That Bashaw rose, and went to him, but trembling and in such an Agony, that it was evident enough, he was not in the Secret of his Commission. The Emperor's Officer however raised his Spirits a little, by telling him, All the Commands, my Lord, I have for you, are, that you immediately assemble a Council, and send for a Man of the Law. The Bashaw did immediately what he was directed, and as soon as the Council were sat, the Officer delivered an Order to the Bashaw of *Taxar*, by which the Emperor required his Head. Whereupon, without any Resistance, after a short Prayer, he was strangled in the presence of *Ripperda* and his Council. As soon as this News arrived in the Army, they were ready to mutiny, making not the least Scruple to say, that this was one of the Tricks of the *Dutch* Bashaw, and that by degrees he would take off every Officer of Distinction who was by Birth a *Moor*. His Friend *Ali* gave him Intelligence of what past in the Army; and the Bashaw no sooner knew it, than he caused a Letter to be drawn up in *Arabick*, containing not only the strongest Protestations of his Innocency, but also such a Detail of the Circumstances attending that Bashaw's Death, as, by the help of *Ali's* Asseverations, convinced every body, that the Bashaw Duke had no hand therein.

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But if his Friend found means to disengage him on this occasion, he was not able the next Spring to deliver either the Bashaw or himself from the Reproach of being baffled by the Marquis of *Villadarias*, who commanded for the *Spaniards* in *Oran*. This Nobleman, who had been extremely intimate with the late Governour, and who was well acquainted with all his Designs, harassed the *Moors* excessively, and not only repulsed them with great Loss, whenever they attempted any thing against him, but also made continual Excursions into their Territories, and beat up their advanced Quarters so often, that they were oblig'd at last to quit many of their Frontier Posts. Admiral *Perez* at Sea had not better Success; for though he had taken very adroitly a Squadron of small Vessels, carrying Provisions to *Gibraltar*, yet he was forced to restore them: which put him into such a Fury, that he afterwards took an *English* Vessel, carried her to *Algiers*, and countenanced the Murder of the *English* Consul there, notwithstanding the many Civilities he had received in that Country. All these things being reported to *Muly Abdalla*, by some faithful Counsellors, who saw with concern, that the Emperor daily lost the Affections of his Subjects, he fell first into a deep Melancholy, and then abandoning himself to the Pleasures of his *Seraglio*, neither wrote to nor returned any Answer to the Letters of the Bashaw *Ripperda*, by whose Care the Post went regularly from *Tetuan* to *Mequinez*. Some Weeks having past in this manner, the Bashaw suspecting that his Enemies had done him some ill Offices with the Emperor, and that it would not be long before he received such another Order, as that which removed the Bashaw of *Taxar* from the Land of the Living, resolved rather to meet his Fate bravely, than timorously to expect it. With this view, without acquainting any of his Friends, he set out

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from *Tetuan*, and arriving unexpectedly at *Mequinez*; went to repose himself for a day at his own House, with the fair *Castilian*, not knowing whether ever he should see her again; he concealed however his Chagrin in such a manner, that neither she, his Children, or Domesticks perceived it; and when he left his House, took leave of them as if he intended to return to *Tetuan*, which was however the Reverse of his Design.

The next Morning, as soon as it was possible to speak with the Emperor, Bashaw *Ripperda* presented himself in the Hall of Audience; and no sooner had *Muly Abdalla* notice of his being there, than he went immediately to receive him. “Bashaw, “said he, how comest thou here? I sent thee no “Orders, neither is there any thing of such Importance as to require thy Presence;” “May it please “your Majesty, returned the Bashaw, my not receiving Orders was the Cause of my coming; “three Weeks are now elapsed since I have been “honoured with your Commands, and I began to “fear that your Majesty repented the great Favour “you have shewn me. I am sensible, that Fortune has been wanting to my Wishes, to my Endeavours, and to the best Counsels I had the honour to give you. Had it been in my power, “without doubt it had waited on all your Majesty’s “Designs; but as it is without my power, it would “be hard to make me accountable for its Absence. “However, here I am the Slave and Victim of “your Majesty; if you suspect me, punish me; if “you believe the shedding my Blood would be a “grateful Sacrifice to Heaven, offer it. This is all “that the Bashaw *de Ripperda* can do more for your “Majesty, he fought against your Enemies till “Age unbraced his Nerves, and his Arm could “no longer wield the Scymitar, he has employed “his Thoughts continually for your Advantage; “if

“ if his Head and Hands are now uselefs, he cannot help it, he comes to lay them down at your feet.” “ May the Wrath of Almighty God, and of his holy Prophet, crush me into Sand as that of a Wilderness; cry’d *Muly Abdalla*, when I hurt the Hair of your Beard. It is true, I have been chagrin’d by the long and loud Complaints of my Subjects; but notwithstanding that, I shall never abandon thee to their Mercy. I know that Endeavours are all that lie within human Power, and that it depends upon Providence to give or to withhold Success. Let it be as you say, return hither and live here in what manner you think fit; I shall always hear with pleasure your Advices, and you may depend upon my Protection, so long as Providence protects me.”

The *Bashaw de Ripperda* having thus carried his point, transported immediately all his Effects to *Mequinez*, that is to say, the Effects he had in *Barbary*; for, as from the beginning, he had always carried on a very extensive Trade, so he made it a Rule with him ever to preserve the greater Part of his Effects either in *England* or in *Holland*; in both which Places he had very faithful Correspondents.

After he was settled at *Mequinez*, he turned his Thoughts more and more to the acquiring of Wealth, and securing an Azylum, where, if the worst came, he might remain in safety. With regard to the former, he formed a Project, no way worthy a Man of his Character, and one who had received such signal Honours in a Country where Renegades are often employed, but very seldom regarded. He persuaded *Muly Abdalla*, that the only means to furnish the necessary Supplies for his Government, was privately to debase the Coin, which he pretended was a thing would hurt no body, but on the contrary, afford the Means of lessening

oppressive Taxes. At first, this was practised with Discretion; but being repeated every year, their Money was at length brought to such a pass, that the Bulk of it was Copper, both sides being cover'd with thin Plates of Silver. The Currency of this being establish'd, gave a temporary ease to the Emperor, and to his People; but it brought a more solid Benefit to the Bashaw *Ripperda*, who receiving his own Appointments in this Money, found means to circulate it in such a manner, as to bring the nominal Value of this Coin into his Coffers in solid Pieces of Eight. In this sort of Negotiation, or rather in this kind of Fraud, his trusty Agents the *Jews* did him signal Service. On the other hand, he secured the Bashaw of *Tetuan*, an old cunning and experienced Infidel, one who kept up constantly a Corps of Troops in his own Pay, and devoted only to his Service; one, who in Humility of Phrase, and in the Vehemency of Promises, was the Emperor's most dutiful Subject, but was in fact careful of his own Interest, and of nothing else. The Bashaw *de Ripperda* had favour'd throughout all his Administration this covetous and ambitious Man, and now had let him lately into some Secrets in Commerce, whereby he reaped great Advantages, but at the same time rendered himself absolutely dependent on *Ripperda*, without whom, in these matters, he could do nothing.

When our Statesman had thus provided that Plenty and Safety should never be wanting to himself, he did not fatigue himself with publick Affairs near so much as he was wont to do. He went sometimes indeed to Council; but it was rather to see what was done there, and to keep up his Interest with its Members, than from any Desire he had to mingle farther in the Interest of the *Moors*. Yet, as to the Emperor, he paid him more Court than ever, diverted him in his Melancholy, amused him

him with specious Promises, gave a pleasing Turn to whatever was related to him, and, in one word, employed his utmost Care to prevent his listening to the Voice of his Subjects, and preserving his Crown at this fatal Favourite's Expence. At home the Bashaw lived like a good *Moor* in a most voluptuous way, and without the smallest Sign either of Remorse for what he had done, or of Apprehension that Providence might punish him in another World, for the great Crimes he had committed in this. Admiral *Perez*, and a few Renegades, who were as wicked as himself, constituted the Circle of his Friends, though the *Jews* only had his Confidence, and were employed in transacting whatever he desired should remain secret in publick or in private Affairs; by which method he gain'd his Ends, and put it out of the power of the *Moors* to redress themselves, by confiscating his Effects. However, all his Arts were attended with this ill Consequence, that in proportion as they were useful to him, they were dangerous and destructive to his Master.

The *Moors*, though they were at first very well satisfy'd with the small Money, which had been issued from the Royal Treasury, began by degrees to perceive the ill Consequences that attended it. The *English* Merchants were the first who refused to take it in Payments; soon after the foreign Merchants in general followed their Example, this obliged even the People of the Country to be more cautious; and at last a Piece of Eight, which at first went but for eleven of these Pieces, came to be worth twenty. The Wars had interrupted their Harvest, and the few Manufactures which were in *Barbary*; these Misfortunes induced Want, and Want amongst *Moors* naturally begets Mutiny. The People universally clamour'd against the Government, reproached the *Grande*es with submit-

ting implicitly to a Renegade, throwing in the Emperor's teeth his Indolence and want of Capacity, and charging on the Bashaw *de Ripperda* the embezzeling the publick Treasure, and the betraying their Counsels to the Christians; both of which were certainly false. Those who invented them, knew this perhaps better than any other People; but they knew that these were Tales fit to inflame the Multitude, and therefore they made use of them: For it is an Error common to all Parties, that they think the Ends they pursue so sacred, as to sanctify any Methods which they find it either proper or necessary to use.

To blow the Fire of Sedition, till it should kindle the Flame of Rebellion, was the Business of *Muly Ali*, a new Pretender to the Empire, who became a Patriot, that he might become a Prince. He first took Arms under colour of promoting the Publick Good. He, with great Industry, published the Mistakes, the Male-administration, and the Misfortunes of *Muly Abdalla*, and then intimated to the People, that the Emperor was obnoxious to the Divine Providence, which must be appeased by a Change of Councils, and the sacrificing the Renegade *Ripperda*, or by the immediate Deposition of the Emperor himself. These sort of Discourses took with the common People; they therefore resorted in great numbers to this new Chief, who soon acquired Force enough to move towards *Mequinez*, and to make the whole Empire tremble. The Bashaw *Ripperda*, who had the first and surest Advices, perceiving that things were now at a Crisis, and that, in all human probability, his Protector *Muly Abdalla* would be reduced to the Condition of a private Man, with much Prudence, though with little Gratitude, determined first to take care of his own Affairs, and then to make some Efforts in favour of his Master.

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With this view he gave out, that he would shortly send, at his own Expence, a Convoy of Ammunition and Provisions to the Army which still continued before *Oran*. But when this Convoy departed, he sent therewith the most valuable of his Effects, his Lady, and his Children, with Orders to halt in the midst of their Journey, at a Place that was equally distant from the Camp and from *Tetuan*: he went then to Court to warn the Emperor of his Danger; but being told, that Prince was gone a hunting, he set out privately to join the Convoy, and as soon as he had join'd it, turn'd off with his Family and Effects for *Tetuan*, where he and they arrived in Safety. The Bashaw of that Place received his Friend *Ripperda* with all imaginable Kindness, provided for him a magnificent House, assigned him a Guard for his Person, and swore to him, that so long as he preserved his Authority, and the strong Town of *Tetuan*, he might assure himself of safety. The Bashaw *Duke de Ripperda* testify'd the highest Sense of Gratitude for these extraordinary Favours, and gave the Bashaw of *Tetuan* to understand, that he should be able to render him much more important Services now he was his Guest, than he was able to do while at *Mequinez*. He likewise did his utmost to ingratiate himself with the principal Persons in the City, affirming that the Discontents of the People, tho' they might be just enough in themselves, were very far from being so with respect to him; that he had made it his Study from his first Arrival in *Barbary*, to do them all the good he could, and that tho' they might have suffer'd grievously under his Administration, yet was it entirely owing to Events inevitable, as well as unforeseen, which would certainly have had much worse Consequences, if his prudent Counsels had not prevented them. That it was most apparent, the *Spaniards* had never

invaded them with so great Force, and that it appeared by his Catholick Majesty's Manifesto, he had formed this Design a Twelvemonth before he, *Ripperda*, had arrived in *Barbary*. That he had established Posts, regulated the Revenues, restor'd the Trade, and put the Maritime Force of the Empire on a new foot, as, if the Army could have been render'd obedient, he would have done by their Militia; whence he concluded, that he was very ill recompensed for all his Cares, and that the People of *Barbary*, like the People in *Spain*, were incapable of discerning an able Minister under Misfortunes from a bad one. These, to whom he addressed this Apology, seemed to listen to it with great Satisfaction. Yet, in fact, they concurred with their Countrymen; for though they could not answer what he had advanced, and were far from being able to see through the Fallacy of his Arguments, yet they knew, that he was a Stranger, a Renegade, and lived as if he was rich, which were to them so many unanswerable Reasons for openly flattering, and secretly hating him.

The Emperor *Muly Abdalla*, on his Return from Hunting, received Advice from his Council, that his Person was scarce in safety, even in his Capital, that the People were so incensed, that it was impossible to preserve them from breaking out into open Acts of Disloyalty, and that therefore it was necessary for his Majesty to take some speedy Measures for restoring Order and supporting his Government. Instantly an Officer was sent to the House of the Bashaw *de Ripperda*, to command him to attend the Council; but the Officer quickly returned with this Answer, that he was gone nobody knew whither. At this the Emperor was exceedingly surprized, and began to think that his Affairs were irretrievable. He caused however a general Assembly of all the great Men, who were
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at or near *Mequinez*, to be convoked. When they were met, he went to them, and in a long Speech, laid before them the Reasons of their meeting, and of his own Conduct; he expatiated on the Mildness of his Government, on the Happiness they had enjoy'd in the first Years of his Reign, on the Impossibility of preventing the Misfortunes which had since happened, and on his own Readiness to resign, not only the Empire, but his Life, if such a Sacrifice should seem expedient for the People. After the King had done speaking, the gravest and most knowing of the Members offered their Opinions. The Sum of which was, that the King should by a publick Declaration divest Bashaw *Ripperda* of all his Employments; that he should solemnly promise his People to take for the future new and better Measures; that he should send Commissioners to treat with the Rebels, and to offer them Money, and that he should send by an Express Orders to Bashaw *Ali* to march immediately to *Mequinez* with the Army, that at all Events he might be able to secure himself, and such as remained faithful to him.

The Emperor was very well satisfied with this Advice, and with all the Proposals they made. He published such a Declaration as was required from him; he sent Commissioners to treat with the Rebels, and Orders to Bashaw *Ali* to repair with all his Forces to *Mequinez*. Yet these Precautions availed nothing, the People said openly, That the Emperor had sent away the Bashaw before he condemned him, the Rebels instead of treating with his Commissioners, knock'd their Brains out, and the Forces under Bashaw *Ali* were defeated soon after their Arrival, notwithstanding all the Efforts of their General, who fought bravely in defence of his Prince. *Muly Abdalla*, after this Misfortune, saw it was impracticable to preserve his Crown, and therefore

therefore sought only how to secure his Person. With this view he quitted *Mequinez*, and retired with the shattered Remains of his Army into the Province of *Taffilet*, where he flatter'd himself he should still find many faithful Subjects: and the very moment he had abandon'd his Capital, the People, according to their wonted Fickleness, proclaimed *Muly Ali* Emperor of *Morocco* and *Fez*, though as yet he had not pretended to the Empire, but gave out, that he intended nothing more than to free the People from their Grievances; though he had afterwards too much Complaisance to refuse the Crown when it was press'd upon him, as the free Gift of the People.

As soon as *Muly Ali* was seated on the Throne, and had received Deputies from all the Provinces, as also from the State of *Algiers*, to compliment him on his Accession, he sent a circular Order to the several Governours of Provinces and Fortresses to come in Person to pay their Homage, and so receive his Orders. Among the rest, the Bashaw of *Tetuan* received the Imperial Summons, but he was not in the humour to comply with it, though he did not openly declare against the newly-advanced Prince. As this was a critical Conjunction, the Counsels of Bashaw *Ripperda* were of great Service to him, and it was by them that he regulated his whole Conduct. As for the Emperor *Muly Ali*, he was so uneasy at the Bashaw of *Tetuan*'s refusing to acknowledge him, that he resolved first of all to try what could be done by fair Means, and if he did not succeed, to proceed to Force. In pursuance of this Design, he sent his Son to *Tetuan*, to assure the Bashaw, that he was far from intending him any hurt; that from the Character he had receiv'd of him, he had a very high Opinion of his Capacity as a Statesman, and as a Soldier, and that on this account he was very desirous of having his Advice.

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The Confidence the Emperor reposed in him, made a strong Impression on the Bashaw ; but he would do nothing, especially in so important an Affair, without consulting his Brother *Ripperda*, who was very far from approving his Design of going to Court. “ You will then, said he, be in the power “ of your Enemy, and this young Man, whom “ you leave as a Hostage, will quickly become our “ Master.” The Bashaw of *Tetuan* relished this sage Counsel, gave the young Prince a general, yet a respectful Answer, treated him in all things, as if the Son of his Sovereign, but the moment he was gone from *Tetuan*, removed his Treasures, his Women, and the greatest part of his Troops to *Tangier*, which he fortified in such a manner, that himself, and his Friend *Ripperda*, who went with him, were under no great Apprehensions from all that the Emperor could do.

The Emperor *Muly Ali* seeing his first Project defeated, had immediately recourse to Arms ; but not daring to trust an Army of *Moors* in the Field, unless he was himself at their head, and being no less afraid to leave *Mequinez*, where he had been so lately acknowledg’d, he came at last to a Resolution of sending a Body of *Blacks*, which he had in his Pay, to form the Blockade of *Tangier*, whereby he made no question, that he should quickly have both the Bashaws at his mercy. The Negro Troops, as soon as they had received the Emperor’s Commands, marched directly towards *Tangier*, and as soon as they arrived in sight thereof, made all the necessary Dispositions for investing the Place. Before they broke ground, the two Bashaws sent an Agent to treat with them, who offered them a very considerable Sum of Money, if they would abandon the Enterprize, and retire towards *Mequinez*. Money is an Argument never reply’d to in *Africk* ; the Negroes, who were all Obedience but

a little while before, discovered now unsurmountable Obstacles in this Affair. They therefore wisely raised the Siege, and filled their Pockets. Immediately after the Bashaws sent a Person to treat with the Emperor himself. This Agent represented, that his Masters had all the Respect imaginable for the Person of *Muly Ali*, and no Scruple at all with regard to his Title to the Crown. If therefore he would be pleased to confirm the Bashaw of *Tetuan* in his Government, and afford his Protection to the Bashaw *de Ripperda*, they were ready to submit, to acknowledge him for their Sovereign, to pay him a considerable Sum in Ready-Money, as well as an annual Tribute. At that time *Muly Ali* stood in great need of such a Supply, he therefore accepted without hesitation Terms so acceptable in their nature, and granted the Bashaws all, nay, and more than they desired; upon which the Money was paid to a Person he sent to receive it: the Bashaw of *Tetuan* sent Deputies to do homage in his Name to the Emperor; and Bashaw *Ripperda* wrote him a Letter of Felicitation, which *Muly Ali* received very kindly, and assured the Person who delivered it, that his Master might rely upon his Protection.

As for the dethron'd Emperor *Muly Abdalla*, he shelter'd himself in the Woods and Mountains of the Province of *Taffilet*, where he had about him still three thousand Horse, who seem'd determin'd to share his Fortunes, let them be what they would. The Bashaw *Ali* remained at their head, so long as he thought his Presence of any use to his Master; but when he perceived that his Affairs daily declined, and that in case *Muly Ali* sent any Troops into the Province, his Master would be in great danger of being delivered up, he desired his leave to go to *Tetuan*, in order to feel the Pulse of its Bashaw, and to see if it was not possible to set on

foot

foot new Disturbances either in the Kingdom of *Morocco* or in that of *Fez*. It was with great pain that *Muly Abdalla* heard this Discourse, he had no Comfort, no Relief but in the Conversation of *Ali*; and it grieved him to the soul to find, that it was now necessary for his Service, that even this Friend of his should leave him. But the Necessity of the thing surmounting both Reason and Tenderneſs, he gave him leave to depart, and ſupply'd him with half the Gold and Jewels which were left. After his Departure, the unfortunate *Muly Abdalla* wandered about in that large, but diſmal Country, wherein it is almoſt a Punishment to live. The Soil is for the moſt part ſandy and ſo barren, that there is no Wheat at all grows in the whole Province. By the River's ſides, and where they can bring Water, they have a little Barley; but it is ſo ſcarce and dear, that none but Perſons of the firſt Rank can purchaſe it; the common People live altogether upon Dates and Camel's Fleſh, and the Milk of that Creature is their common Drink. The City of *Taffilet* is not only the Capital of the Province, but the only City therein, though on the River's ſides, there are many large and populous Villages. The Inhabitants are of three different ſorts. The firſt are the *Cheriffs*, or *Deſcendants* from *Mohammed*; theſe dwell in Caſtles ſeated for the moſt part in inacceſſible Places, and well guarded beſides. The *Arabs* inhabit the Towns, where they cultivate what little Barley there is, as alſo the Dates. They likewise tan Leather, and uſe all the Trades that are exerciſed in that part of the World. The third ſort are the *Moors*, who are deſcended from the ancient Inhabitants of the Country; theſe are a very black flat-nos'd People, who dwell altogether in the Mountains, where they breed a vaſt number of Camels and Dromedaries, which they ſometimes bring down into the Plains,

and

and exchange with the *Arabs* for Dates. As *Muly Abdalla* durst not trust himself in the Plains, he was obliged to take up his Residence for the most part among the People last mentioned; however he supported his Condition with a great deal of Firmness, and demeaned himself in such a manner, as procured him many Friends in his melancholly Exile, and who at the hazard of their Lives, brought him frequent Advice from *Mequinez*.

As for Bashaw *Ali*, he arrived at *Tetuan* a very little while before the Bashaw of that Place had been obliged to retire, as has been related, to *Tangier*. Both that crafty Statesman and Bashaw *Ripperda*, received him with open Arms, commended his Fidelity, and promised him all the Assistance they could give him; which Promise they kept, because it was their Interest. By this means, *Ali* had an Opportunity of sending into every Province of the Empire a Manifesto in the Name of *Muly Abdalla*, requiring the Aid of all his good Subjects, for the Recovery of his Throne. But this Manifesto having little or no Effect, and the two Bashaws having made their Peace with *Muly Ali*, they would fain have persuaded this loyal Renegade to follow their Example, and to make his Peace too. But *Ali* was of another Disposition: He told the Bashaw of *Tetuan*, that he would consider of his Proposal; but to *Ripperda*, he own'd frankly, that he despised it. "I may, said he, while things remain
" in the State they are now in, sit still and enjoy
" your Company in quiet; but if the Mutability
" of the *Moors* should ever encourage *Muly Abdalla*
" to attempt reascending the Throne, *Ali* will
" either cut him out a Passage thereto, or perish in
" his Cause." *Ripperda* could hardly avoid smiling at this Discourse. Practised in the Arts of Court, he thought a Change of Principles a Transition absolutely necessary on a Change of Fortune. A
Revo-

Revolution was to him a kind of Revelation, which turned Morality inside out, and made that excellent to-day, which yesterday was the greatest Evil.

After the Treaty before-mentioned between the new Emperor and the two Bashaws, the latter thought fit to return to *Tetuan*, that they might enjoy the Fruits of Peace more conveniently. *Tetuan* is a Town seated in the Province of *Habad*, in the Kingdom of *Fez*. It stands in the midst of a fine Plain, surrounded with Groves. The Country all about is extremely fertile, and the Inhabitants were formerly very rich through their Piracy, as they are now by reason of their Trade with *Algiers*. In the Year 1400, it was destroyed by the Christians, but was afterwards rebuilt better than before. Its Walls, though they make a good Appearance, are very far from being strong, and its Castle, which is built in form of a St. *Andrew's* Cross, is much more proper to awe the Inhabitants, than to defend them. There is a navigable River runs through the City; but the Port is properly speaking at two Leagues distance. *Philip II.* ruin'd it about the Year 1564; however shortly after, a Storm cleared the Port on the other side, so that now, though but indifferent, it is at least as good as it was before. On the whole, there is not a more agreeable Place in *Barbary*, especially if we consider, that it is but twenty Miles from the Streights of *Gibraltar*; so that it lies very convenient for Trade, and for the earliest Intelligence from all Parts of *Europe*. We need not wonder therefore that Bashaw *Ripperda* was so pleased with, and so desirous of making it the Place of his Residence, since his Disposition was quite alter'd, and he sought Peace now, with the same Diligence he was wont to shun it.

The Bashaw of *Tetuan*, as he was very rich and very ambitious, so he was also very magnificent; he

he kept a good Table, at which *Ripperda*, and *Ali* generally dined, when he did not dine at the Bashaw *Ripperda*'s. Wine, notwithstanding they were *Mohammedans*, was never missing at their Tables, and they excused it, as the *Jews* do their feeding on Shell-fish, because they took it not for Pleasure, but for Health-sake. *Ripperda* would sometimes drink a little more than ordinary, and when his Spirits were exalted, would say such quick and lively things, as the Bashaw of *Tetuan* thought not quite so consistent with the Gravity of a *Mussulman*. This, when he next saw him, he would sometimes intimate; but *Ripperda*'s constant Reply was so reasonable, that it admitted no Rejoinder. *It is impossible*, said he, *of a bad Christian to make a good Mohammedan. Devout Men are no Turn-coats, and a Man who changes his Religion often may be a Hypocrite, or a Bigot, but becomes very rarely pious.* At these Entertainments, the fair *Castilian* was sometimes present, and by her Voice and her Wit contributed not a little to increase the Mirth, and keep up the Spirit of their Conversations. But these Scenes of Joy quickly slid away. The Bashaw Duke felt the Gout ascend towards his Stomach, and perceiving from thence that his End was drawing near, he fell into a great Disorder of Mind, and lost much of that Firmness of Soul with which he had formerly sustained the Attacks of that Disorder.

When he kept his Bed, he refused to see any Company except *Ali* and the fair *Castilian*. To her he spoke little, but sighed often, and sometimes desired her to pray for him. To his Friend he behaved otherwise. He would frequently exhaust his Spirits on the Folly of pursuing Pleasure or Power. "Neither of these, said he, when possessed in the
"highest Degree, can give the human Mind Con-
"tent, and this being known, it is but Madness
"for

“ for Men to waste their Health, their Abili-
 “ ties, and their Time in seeking to acquire them.
 “ I am a melancholly Instance of this Truth. I
 “ have now time to reflect on my past Life, and I
 “ not only detest the Methods by which I reached
 “ the Pleasures, and compassed the Dominion I
 “ sought; but I also loath the Thoughts of those
 “ Pleasures and that Dominion, and had rather
 “ have been a Shepherd, or a Hermit, than the
 “ Baron, Duke, or Bashaw *Ripperda*.” To these
 Discourses *Ali* would sometimes reply pleasantly:
 “ Your Disorders, said he, in Mind, are the Ef-
 “ fects of your Sickness in Body, a sort of Vapours,
 “ which naturally rise when the Humours are troub-
 “ led. But you must take Physick for them as for
 “ your Disease; and as you arm yourself with Pa-
 “ tience against Pain, so by Pleasantry you must
 “ defend yourself from these black Fits of Melan-
 “ cholly.” “ Alas! cry’d the Bashaw *Ripperda*, the
 “ Pains of the Gout, however exquisite, are no-
 “ thing comparable to the Agonies of my Mind.
 “ It is not Death that I am afraid of. Alas! were
 “ it to be found, I would seek it. But I am con-
 “ scious to myself, there is no such thing. A Man
 “ cannot ease himself of bodily Pain, by going from
 “ one Place to another; how then shall the Anxiety
 “ of his Mind be extinguished by so small an Al-
 “ teration, as the *being in, or out of his Body*. I shall
 “ think then more strongly than I do now; I shall
 “ remember what I do not remember now; I shall
 “ see the Consequences of all my evil Deeds, which
 “ I cannot see now; and all this shall be the Enter-
 “ tainment of an immortal Spirit, alike incapable of
 “ ceasing to be, or of becoming happy. Do you
 “ call these Vapours, *Ali*? Do I speak like a Man
 “ distracted? Or do you not perceive, that my
 “ Thoughts have more Force than when loaded
 “ with Infirmities, I led the *Moors* to Battle, and
 “ forgot

“ forgot the Pains of my Body, to gratify the vicious Passions of my Soul?” “ I know, said *Ali*, that while Misfortune reached me only, I had Strength and Courage enough to support it, to conceal my inward Pain, and to put on such a Behaviour as might render me agreeable to others; but seeing you in this Condition, I can no longer preserve my Fortitude. Believe me, my Trouble is equal to your own. There is one thing only that can ease us.” “ And what is that, said *Ripperda*, hastily? “ Let me send, said *Ali*, for Father *Zachary* from *Mequinez*, to whose Care you committed your Son; he is a Priest full of Piety, and tho’ a Monk, void of Fraud or of Art; he is a proper Physician for a Man in your Condition, and he only can give you Ease.” “ Send for him, said the Bashaw, faintly; but make haste, or he will come too late.”

Bashaw *Ali* did immediately what he had promised, he wrote a most pressing Letter to Father *Zachary*, intreating him to depart for *Tetuan* the moment he received it, and dispatched it by an Express. In this Letter, the Father was plainly told the State that the Duke *de Ripperda* was in, his earnest Desire to confess not only all the Sins of his past Life, but in an especial manner his Weakness and Wickedness, in suffering Circumcision, and pretending to believe all the Absurdities of the *Mohammedan* Religion. Father *Zachary*, on the Receipt of this Letter, finding it impossible for him to leave the Monastery, wrote an Answer equally pious and instructive; wherein he exhorted the Bashaw not to despair of God’s Mercy, or to suffer his Spirit to be so far dejected, as to injure his Senses and impair his Understanding, because in the great Work of Repentance, more than ordinary Attention would be necessary, and the whole Force even of his great Abilities be requisite to discern what was his Duty, and

and what Satisfaction was necessary to shew the Sincerity of his Conversion. He concluded this Letter with assuring him, that he would set out the next Morning for *Tetuan*, and bring with him the young *Ripperda*, whom his Mother had committed to his Tuition. As soon as this Answer arrived, *Ali* carried it to the Bashaw, and read it by his Bedside, shedding at the same time a Torrent of Tears, and bemoaning his own and his Friend's miserable Condition. As for the Duke *de Ripperda* he thank'd him for the pains he had taken, and after he had heard the Letter, appeared more calm and better satisfy'd, often repeating, I beseech God that I may live till the Father arrives.

The fair *Castilian*, though she was exceedingly grieved at the sight of the Duke's Pain and Torment, yet was she inwardly rejoiced at the noble Resolution he had taken of dying like a Man of Honour and good Sense, that is, like a Christian. For the sublimest Sense of Honour, and the utmost Exaltation human Reason is capable of, are in the Possession of a Disciple of the Gospel. The Philosophy of the Heathens was vain; the Enthusiasm of the *Mohammedans* is in reality a Species of Madness; the calm, steady, unaffected Piety of a true Christian, is a Conduct worthy of a rational Being, and therefore must be its highest Felicity, and the true Religion, that is the true Rule of Action. The Consideration of the Duke's Repentance, led also this unhappy Woman to the serious Contemplation of her own Faults, and to an unfeigned Sorrow for the wrong steps she had taken, with a firm Resolution of returning into *Europe* after the Bashaw's Death, and entering there on a State of Penitence, which might atone for it. As she believ'd that *Ali* was the principal Author of the Duke *de Ripperda*'s Conversion, she returned him the most sincere Acknowledgements; and he, on his side,

promised her and her Children all the Service in his power.

The next day the Duke grew worse; they then perceived, that, together with the Gout, he had a slow Hectick Fever, which left no room for Hope, that by the Strength of his Constitution he might recover. Towards Evening, he had fainting Fits, wherein he lost his Senses; when he recovered a little, he inquired whether Father *Zachary* was come; and when he was told, that he was not, he grew impatient and restless. At last the Father came into his Chamber, having not stopt so much as to speak to any body when he entered the House; the young *Ripperda* was with him, and the fair *Castilian* followed them. The Duke looking upon him earnestly, said with a trembling Voice; “ You see, “ my Father, in how low and languishing a Condition I am; at the Threshold of this Life, and “ which is of much more consequence, on the Brink “ of another. You cannot but know the State of “ my Conscience, the Sadness of which will be better express’d by my Silence than by any Words “ I can use. My Sins and my Sorrows are a Load “ I am unable to bear; I want Courage, I want “ Strength to think of Death; and, alas! it is so “ near that I can think of nothing else.—Pity “ me, Father, in this Condition; look with an “ Eye of Tenderness on my Calamities; forget the “ Wickedness of my past Behaviour, and particularly the Injuries and Affronts I offered you, “ when you formerly represented the Iniquity of “ my Conduct to my sight. I am now sensible of “ the great Sin I committed: I ask, I implore your “ Pardon, with the most sincere Concern.”

It is not I, return’d Father Zachary, who have the Power of pardoning you; you must expect that from God alone; to him therefore raise all your Petitions, and be assured, that as certain as his Justice wil

will punish the Obstinate, so surely will his Mercy save those who are truly Penitent: strive, Sir, to be of that number. Alas! alas! my Father, reply'd the Duke, is it not too late when a Man is a dying to repair the Faults of a mispent Life? No, Sir, reply'd the Priest, the Grace of God which inspires you with these Thoughts, gives us, and ought to give you, room to hope, that this Repentance, late as it is, may, if it be sincere, avail you. Do you, from the bottom of your Heart, detest that base Compliance with the Desires of the Infidels, which led you to abandon the Faith? And do you now sincerely desire to die in the Bosom of the Church of Christ? The Duke reply'd, I do; and thereupon the Priest confessed, absolved, and administred the Sacraments to him; after which, the Duke felt himself so easy, that he determin'd to make his Will, and settle his temporal Affairs, that he might have nothing left to do but to think of his Dissolution.

In order to this, he sent for *Ali*, the fair *Castilian*, and his Children. When they were come into the Room, he directed Father *Zachary* to commit his Intentions to Writing. "I leave, said he, "to that Lady all that I die possessed of, and my "Desire is that she should divide it equally between "my two Children. I leave to the Monastery of "the *Holy Trinity*, and to the Fathers of that Order, *eight thousand Pieces of Eight*, to be disposed of as they shall think fit; and I farther "leave them *two thousand Pieces of Eight per Annum*, for the Release of Captives, till the like Sum "of *eight thousand Pieces of Eight* shall be compleated. "To each of my Domesticks I leave ten Pistoles. "To the young Men in my Compting-house, a "hundred Pistoles each. To my Secretary, *three hundred*. And my Will is, that if that Lady "marry again, my Children shall be entitl'd to "two Thirds of my Estate; and in case they are

“ not of Age, I constitute the Fathers *Trinitarians*,
 “ their Guardians and Trustees.”

For some days after the Duke was easier than he had been for many Months before, though his Strength daily decreased, and he grew sensible that he had not long to last. One day, when *Ali* was sitting by him and discoursing of the Wisdom and Courage he had shewn in his late Abjuration of *Mohammedism*, My dear Friend, said the Bashaw, I am most sensible of the Truth of what you say; for though I am in great Pain in all parts of my Body, and am unable to make use of any of my Members, yet such is the Serenity of my Mind, that I think myself in Paradise. But tell me, why are you earnest for my Salvation, and so careless of your own? My dear Duke, reply'd *Ali*, I shall very speedily follow you. I only conceal my Sentiments, that I may see Justice done to your Lady and her Children. Give me your hand, said the Bashaw Duke, there is nothing more in this World which concerns me; I shall now die in Peace, and without Regret.

The Evening before he died, looking round the Room, and seeing his Cabinet and some Pieces of Gold Plate there, he said to his Lady, Let these be removed; let it be done to-night; confide all my Effects to *Ali*; I know the covetous Temper of the Bashaw of Tetuan, and the sordid Souls of these Moors. I know as soon as they are acquainted with my death, they will plunder this House; leave them somewhat to gratify their Avarice, and to stop further Search. His Desire was instantly comply'd with, his own Servants and those of *Ali* convey'd away all his Effects, and that generous Renegade converted them into Money, and disposed of them for the Benefit of his Children, with the most scrupulous Fidelity.

As the Sun began to decline the next day, such Signs of instant Death appeared, that Father *Zachary* calling the Lady and her Sons into the Room,

Room, ask'd him, if he had any thing more to say to his Children? *Alas!* returned the Duke, *what can I say? Let the Example of their Father be ever before their Eyes, let them study to have less Ambition, and more Probity! In my Life, they see what ought not to be done; and I hope the World will see in theirs nothing of the same kind.* He had scarce pronounced these Words, and had heard a short Prayer, which Father Zachary had made for him, before he expired.

He died on the 17th of *October*, 1737, N.S. and as he rightly foresaw, the next day the *Moors* assembled about his House and pillaged it. When they were retired, the Bashaw gave Orders that his Body should be transported to the Mosque. There the *Imam* made a long Harangue on the Virtues of the Deceased: For they were entirely ignorant of his changing his Religion. Then followed the Interment, with all possible Pomp, under a triple Discharge of the Artillery of the Place, and of the small Arms of the Garison. On his Tomb, there is inscribed in *Arabick*, a short Character of him to this purpose:

Here rests the Bashaw Duke de Ripperda, who living acquired great Honour in the Field, and in the Cabinet, in Europe, and in Africk; particularly in Morocco, during the Reign of Muly Abdalla, Great in his Life, and Famous after his Death.

Thus died in Peace, after a Life spent in Trouble, *William Lewis de Ripperda*, whose Actions have characterized him so thoroughly, that there is no need of troubling the Reader with long and labour'd Reflections. Let it suffice to say, that in him the Thirst of Power and of Revenge were boundless; that the Fury of his Passions justly deprived him of that Glory, which the Strength of his Reason and his extraordinary Fortitude would otherwise have bestowed; that the great Source of

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his Misfortunes, was his believing that he might make a Tool of Religion; and that the sole Excuse his greatest Friends can make for him is, That he died a better Man than he lived.

As for the Family he left behind him, his Children by the Dutchess are living, and by an excellent Conduct have removed from their Family all the Blemish, which through their Father's Failings fell thereon. The *Spanish* Lady did not long survive him, but in returning to *Holland*, died at Sea of a Dropsy. Her Children survive, are privately and properly educated by those who preserve a grateful Regard for the good Offices done them by *M. de Ripperda*, and have buried with him all Remembrance of his Vices.





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AN APPENDIX.

A N
A P P E N D I X,

C O N T A I N I N G

Some PAPERS on the BALANCE
of *Europe*;

The PRESENT STATE of *Spain*;

A N D

The CONSEQUENCES of a WAR in
the *West-Indies*.

APPENDIX

CONTAINING

SOME PAPERS OF THE BALANCE

OF THE

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE

AND

THE CONSEQUENCES OF A WAR IN

THE WEST INDIES.



A P P E N D I X.

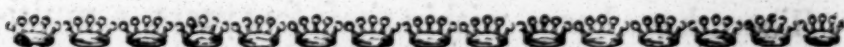
ON the publishing the second Edition of this Book it was thought proper to add the following three Discourses, which were furnished by a Person who obliged the Author with many Particulars in the Life itself. The printing them was rendered the more expedient by the conformity in Circumstances between the present Juncture and that wherein they were written; for it appears they were penned about the Year 1726, when it was conceived that a War between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, was inevitable.

There have been, within these few years, a multitude of Political Pieces, published on the same subjects. I am persuaded however, that there will be some novelty perceived in these. They are not written with that partial Spirit, which must everlastingly accompany the Thoughts and Words of a Man, writing in favour of his Country, pleading her cause, or inflaming his Readers against her real or supposed Enemies. The Indifference of a Stranger, tho' it does not place our Complaints in the strongest, yet surely it sets them in the truest light. We may admire the Spirit and Vivacity, the Zeal and Eloquence, of an injured *Briton*, declaiming against the Injustice and Insolence of *Spanish Guarda Costa's*: but in point of Evidence, an unconcerned, unbiassed Witness, is preferable to a warm one; and a Stranger is seldom suspected of favouring one side more than the other.

Besides, in these short Discourses, there are some

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curious points of History touched, and not a few political Hints thrown out which will give satisfaction to a penetrating Peruser. These might have been made clearer and more striking by short Notes; yet we have been sparing in that particular, for the same Reason that *Tacitus* had no Commentators in his own times, lest the Gloss might be construed unpardonable, while the Original was held praiseworthy. There is, in short, a time for all Things, and if I am not much mistaken, this is the proper time for sending abroad these Discourses, which otherwise might never have seen the Light. Men born in other Countries, rarely run into the Foible of Parties, when they settle for a time here; they are therefore the best Judges of our general Interests, and their Observations are always useful, though their Counsels may be sometimes inexpedient.



TO * * * * *

On the BALANCE of Power, &c.

‘ **T**HO’ it must be owned that these Phrases,
 ‘ the Balance of Power, and the Balance of
 ‘ *Europe*, are now become so common as to be some-
 ‘ times very oddly applied; yet amongst Men of
 ‘ Sense and Knowledge, they will be always regarded
 ‘ as most significant terms, and be esteemed points
 ‘ worthy of the most serious Attention. We say
 ‘ in common Discourse, to balance Accounts, by
 ‘ which we mean to make them even; and thus
 ‘ the same expression, in much the same Sense, crept
 ‘ into Politicks, and was applied to the Art requi-
 ‘ site for preserving the *European* States independ-
 ‘ dant,

dant, by forming Confederacies against any Potentate or Commonwealth, formidable by its Power and Conduct towards many of its Neighbours.

There was an Instance of this so long ago as 1508, in the famous League of *Cambray*. The Emperor *Maximilian*, *Lewis XII* King of *France*, *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* &c. united in order to humble the *Venetians*; this they did effectually, and since then there have been many grand Alliances on the same Plan. It is well observed by *Paulo Paruta*, that the true Reason why since the Decay of the *Roman* Empire none other has succeeded, is this Notion of Balancing becoming a Political Maxim. It may indeed be objected, that tho' this Practice hath restrained Christian Powers within just Bounds, it has been but too favourable to the *Turks*. Yet this I think is pretty well over; and whatever advantages the Sultan shall get hereafter, must be the result of the dissolved Constitution of the *Poles*, or intestine Divisions amongst the *Russians*. Nay, in this Case his Conquests might be fatal, it would probably open the Eyes of some Princes, and enable them to see that the Liberty of others is the best Barrier to their own.

To fix the Balance of Power in *Europe*, attention must be paid to the inferiour Balances elsewhere. For example, the Scales must be kept even in the North; that is to say, *Russia*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark* must be maintained in a state of Independancy, and as far as may be in a state of Quiet. This highly imports all *Europe* for many reasons, especially for two. First because in time of Peace each of their Powers thrives, a thing beneficial to the common Cause of *Christendom*, and which raises an impregnable Line of Defence against all the *Asiatick* Powers, *Turks*, *Persians*, and *Tartars*, all of whom in times past have insulted *Europe*. Secondly, Because if any one of these

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‘ Monarchs should conquer another, he would quickly reduce the third; and thereby have all *Europe* in a manner at his Mercy. In order to form a just Idea of this matter, we need only call to mind the Projects of *Charles XII* and *Peter the Great*, and we shall not doubt that a Balance in the North deserves thought.

‘ In the next place, the Balance in *Italy* claims our notice. Every body knows this noble Country is cantoned out amongst many Princes and free States. It is certain that if any one Prince was absolutely Lord of all, he would be extremely formidable, and have it in his Power to humble other *European* Powers, those stiled Maritime particularly. However, the watching over the Balance ought not to extend, as some would have it, to hinder Princes from reviving Trade and Industry in their Dominions; for these things belong to Mankind of common Right, and it is equally impolitick, unjust, and impious, to tie up Men’s hands from receiving the Gifts of Providence. Such Prohibitions are the narrow Schemes of bungling Politicians who live upon Expedients, and rather than attempt to cope with others would have them tied and chained, tho’ they having them in this Condition would, in the End, prove prejudicial to themselves. The flourishing of particular States is for the common Good of *Europe*.

‘ The Balance between the two great Families of *Austria* and *Bourbon* hath in these two last Centuries occupied the third Place, and something of that sort must be taken care of still. The Treaty of *Vienna*, the so much decried Treaty of *Vienna*, was by some Cosmopolitan Statesmen thought a Master-piece in its kind; and if some who opposed it, had weighed it maturely, they would have discerned that it supplied the Defects of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and fix’d this Balance
‘ in

‘ in the juſteſt Proportion. But theſe will be
‘ thought Chimæra’s; however, let me add another,
‘ that by overturning that Alliance, there are none
‘ left but theſe two ways of fixing this Balance a-
‘ gain, viz. relying on the Moderation of *France*,
‘ or renewing the Grand Alliance. The firſt is the
‘ eaſieſt, and if an old Prieſt were immortal, the
‘ ſureſt Way. But the latter ſeems to agree beſt
‘ with the common Methods in uſe among Poli-
‘ ticians.

‘ I might add to theſe, the Balance of Power in
‘ *Germany*, which grows every day a more and
‘ more important Affair; but I content myſelf
‘ with well known and generally acknowledged
‘ Principles, that my Deductions may be the leſs li-
‘ able to diſpute; therefore forbearing this, and o-
‘ mitting the Religious Balance between Papiſts and
‘ Proteſtants, I haſten to obſerve that a due Re-
‘ gard to theſe Points is what may be properly call-
‘ ed the Balance of Power in *Europe*. This ought
‘ to be the firſt and principal Care of all Princes
‘ and States, becauſe their very Being depends up-
‘ on it. But as we ſhall be ſeldom right if we
‘ conclude that Men do ſuch things, and ſuch things
‘ only, as they ought to do; ſo Experience as well
‘ as Reason will enable us to perceive that ſome one
‘ Power or other generally hinders the reſt from
‘ going wrong, and this Power is ſaid, I think
‘ not without cauſe, to hold the Balance. A moſt
‘ honourable, a moſt laudable Office ſurely!

‘ If we ſuffer ourſelves to be governed by Ap-
‘ pearances, then we ſhould for a long Series of
‘ Years paſt, ſuppoſe that *Holland* held the Balance:
‘ moſt of the Negotiations affecting the Balance of
‘ Power, having been in part or in the whole tranſ-
‘ acted at the *Hague*. But tho’ it is certain that
‘ the Republick has a greater Intereſt in preſerving
‘ the Balance than any other Power, her own Ex-
‘ iſtence

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‘istence depending immediately thereon; so that any
 ‘the slightest Alteration presently affects her Con-
 ‘cerns, yet can she not be truly said to hold the Ba-
 ‘lance of *Europe*, or if she does, it is but Ministe-
 ‘rially, and as it were *ex Officio*, while other Powers
 ‘trim the Scales. Quick-sighted Politicians have
 ‘found out this long ago, and made their uses of it,
 ‘making *Hague* Negotiations serve as Sanctions to
 ‘their Designs, presuming on Popular Opinion,
 ‘and that Reserve or impenetrable Secrecy which
 ‘Ministers usually and with good Reason keep.
 ‘For if the Springs of Government were visible
 ‘to all, the great Machine would roll but heavily
 ‘on.

‘Of all the *European* Powers, *France* most af-
 ‘fects this Office, and is by most other Powers
 ‘held the least fit to manage it. As the *Dutch* have
 ‘not Strength enough to hold the Balance steady,
 ‘which makes other Nations less afraid of them;
 ‘so the prodigious Power of *France* demonstrated
 ‘by the last general War, and augmented by so
 ‘long a Peace, terrifies many States, and makes
 ‘them imagine the Balance cannot be preserved
 ‘unless it is kept out of her Hands. The Desire
 ‘manifested by *Lewis XIV.* to have the Scales al-
 ‘ways under his Eye, countenanced what his E-
 ‘nemies warmly gave out, that he aimed at uni-
 ‘versal Monarchy. However false in the Sense
 ‘it was taken, this Suggestion might be, it con-
 ‘tributed not a little to the fixing the Balance of
 ‘*Europe*, which, as it was best understood, so it
 ‘was most warmly pursued by *William* the Third,
 ‘a Prince equal to any of his Cotemporaries in the
 ‘Field, and who was superior to them all in the
 ‘Cabinet. His Views were generous and exten-
 ‘sive, free from those Taints of Passion which too
 ‘often poison even the Designs of Heroes, and he
 ‘thought so well and acted so firmly, that I have
 ‘known

known zealous *Jacobites* adore his Capacity, though they liked not his Title.

Under his Reign it appeared even to the minor Politicians, for Men of Experience knew it long before, that holding this Balance best became the Hand of *Great Britain's* Sovereign, because there the rest of *Europe's* Powers have all things to hope and nothing to apprehend. It is the Interest of *Great Britain* to prevent the extravagant growth of any Power, because such an accession of Authority would be prejudicial to Trade, the tenderest Concern of the Inhabitants of that Island. Yet if any great Alteration should happen, *Great Britain* would not feel its Effects so soon as many other States, and therefore would have greater Courage and more Force to struggle for its Re-establishment. The Strength of *Britain*, tho' inexhaustible, is not dreadful to its Neighbours, because she is always quiet till she is injured, and can gain nothing by her Conquests, the Foundation of her Power lying in her happy Situation, which seems removed from the Continent, that her Monarch might be the Arbiter of all Differences happening thereon. Compliments are irreconcilable to Politicks, I speak this in deference to Truth, and not out of Complaisance for the *British* Nation. They do not stand in need of Flattery, because they are really greater than I describe them, and yet I think not a jot greater than they are pleased to think themselves.

Henry VII. King of *England*, possessed only a part of *Britain*. His Titles to the Crown were many, some however contrary to others, and the best I think hard to be understood. He was vexed with successive Plots, subdued many Rebel-lions, and had a Disposition in many respects not grateful to his Subjects. Yet this Prince had both the Wisdom and the Courage to hold the
Balance

‘ Balance of *Europe*, and to make himself respected
 ‘ by all its Potentates. His Ministers meddled in
 ‘ all Negotiations, he took upon him to mediate
 ‘ in all Disputes, and at length the Princes of *Eu-*
 ‘ *rope* applied to him as a *Solomon*, whom superiour
 ‘ Wisdom justly entitled to superiour Authority.
 ‘ Yet the Princes of that Time were great Politi-
 ‘ cians, governed by their own Lights, and were
 ‘ the Masters, not the Instruments of their Ministers,
 ‘ Nay, amongst those who courted *Henry* most, was
 ‘ *Ferdinand*, the Catholick King of *Arragon* and
 ‘ *Castile*, a Monarch whose Prudence was only
 ‘ equall’d by his Fortune, who erected the *Spanish*
 ‘ Empire, and drove the *Moors* back into *Africk*.

‘ The Conduct of his Successor *Henry VIII.* was
 ‘ more heroick, tho’ it favoured less of the Politi-
 ‘ cian; he was a Man of high Spirit, and a Prince
 ‘ of very pregnant Parts. He affected absolute
 ‘ Authority at home, and making great Acqui-
 ‘ sitions abroad. Maxims irreconcilable to the
 ‘ general or particular Interests of *Britain*. But
 ‘ notwithstanding all this, he held the Balance, and
 ‘ held it by foul Means as well as fair. His Beha-
 ‘ viour had certainly many Blemishes, but he did
 ‘ not bluster without drawing his Sword, or boast
 ‘ of performing more than he could do. His love
 ‘ of Magnificence, and too great a sensibility of
 ‘ that Superiority he had over other Princes, led
 ‘ him into an Expence which hurt his People; but
 ‘ he preserved the Reputation of his Crown to the
 ‘ last, and died more beloved by his Subjects, and
 ‘ more feared by the rest of *Europe* than any Prince
 ‘ in that Age. Throughout the greatest part of
 ‘ these long Reigns, and in the most stirring Times,
 ‘ these two *English* Kings were Masters of the Fate
 ‘ of *Christendom*, and set up, and pulled down o-
 ‘ ther Princes as they pleased.

‘ The

‘ The Minority which ensued on the Death of
‘ *Henry VIII*, did not prove more fatal to *England*
‘ than to *Europe*. The Balance was immediately
‘ lost, and the House of *Austria* not only pursued
‘ universal Monarchy more openly, but also with
‘ greater Appearance of succeeding than any other
‘ Power before or since. *England* became a part
‘ of their Conquests, by that Method whereby they
‘ gained almost all; I mean, by the Intervention of
‘ a Marriage. This exorbitant growth of Power
‘ was the Cause of great and general Calamities.
‘ In *Germany* a Spirit of Liberty appeared, which
‘ grew stronger and stronger, notwithstanding the
‘ mighty Efforts made to crush it. The Progress
‘ of Learning occasioned the true Principles of Po-
‘ licy to be more generally understood, and by de-
‘ grees an Alliance was formed, which checked the
‘ Progress of the *Austrian* Greatness when it was
‘ least expected. But I will venture to affirm all
‘ this would have been prevented, if there had
‘ been an active King on the *English* Throne, or
‘ even if *Queen Mary* had married any other Prince
‘ than *Philip II*.

‘ After the resettling the *English* Government,
‘ *Queen Elizabeth* resumed the Balance, and held
‘ it with prodigious Reputation. I am no Judge
‘ of her Domestick Conduct; but as the Arbiter
‘ of *Europe*, I will be bold to say, she acted with
‘ the utmost Prudence. She gave Liberty to the
‘ *Hollanders*, she protected *France*, she humbled
‘ the mighty *Philip II*. the best qualified Prince for
‘ the Attempt of all who have ever aim’d at Univer-
‘ sal Monarchy. She was so good a Judge of her
‘ own Interests and of those of her Neighbours, that
‘ we may consider all the Steps taken by her as so
‘ many Lessons left to Posterity, which may de-
‘ liver us from any fear of acting amiss, if we will
‘ be but prudent enough to follow those Directions.

‘ *Perez*

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‘ *Perez* the *Spanish* Minister fled hither in her time,
 ‘ and was caressed by the Earl of *Essex*, but the
 ‘ Queen disdain’d to draw from him his Master’s
 ‘ Secrets. She conceived this dishonourable in one
 ‘ Prince towards another, and generously chose to
 ‘ rely on her own Wisdom rather than pick up
 ‘ such secret Intelligence.

‘ They are much beside the Truth who fancy
 ‘ that the *English* Statesmen failed with her Reign,
 ‘ and that the Nation has been duped ever since in
 ‘ Negotiation. Sir *William Temple* was a very
 ‘ great Minister, and the Alliance he negotiated in
 ‘ *Holland* put the Balance once more into his Ma-
 ‘ ster’s Hands, if he had been at leisure to hold it,
 ‘ But his Indolence hinder’d him from being what
 ‘ his Capacity certainly fitted him for, the Director
 ‘ of this part of the World; and rather than he
 ‘ would take the pains to be the first, he submitted
 ‘ (and yet could not be quiet) to be one of the last
 ‘ Princes in *Europe*. His Brother lost his Kingdoms
 ‘ thro’ want of Ambition in this Particular. He
 ‘ became the Creature of *Lewis XIV.* when he might
 ‘ have been his Superiour. Had he thrown him-
 ‘ self into the opposite Scale, had he declared, as
 ‘ he ought to have done, roundly against *France*,
 ‘ he would have been admired and courted at
 ‘ home and abroad notwithstanding his Religion.

‘ Wherever any Influence is necessary to bound
 ‘ new risen Powers, *Britain* can immediately
 ‘ apply it. She has often still’d Commotions in
 ‘ the *North*, by the bare Appearance of a Fleet.
 ‘ She saved the Empire, by sending her Forces to
 ‘ the *Rhine*; she chastised *Spain*, by the memorable
 ‘ Blow at *Messina*. This shews how well she is
 ‘ qualified for this important Trust, and how easy
 ‘ it is for her to secure her own Tranquillity and
 ‘ that of all her Neighbours. It is indeed what
 ‘ *Europe* expects from her, and you may plainly
 ‘ see

‘ see, if you give the smallest Attention, that if
‘ *Great Britain* does not hold the Ballance, she
‘ cannot be safe. She is in the Situation that *A-*
‘ *thens* was in, with respect to *Greece*; her Power
‘ is sufficient to make her reverenc’d, and if she
‘ does not exert it to this End; her Humility will
‘ not prevent her being envied. I could easily ex-
‘ plain this to the Satisfaction of the meanest Un-
‘ derstanding. But such an Explanation is need-
‘ less, where Experience justifies the Fact.

‘ It is not only the Interest of *British* Monarchs
‘ to hold the Balance, in order to secure them-
‘ selves from any Trouble in foreign Affairs, but it
‘ is also the surest means of procuring them Do-
‘ mestick Quiet. The *British* People in general
‘ judge extreamly well of their own Interests, and
‘ think it an Honour to pay their Duty to a King
‘ who is courted by his Neighbours. They love
‘ to see their Court crouded with foreign Ministers,
‘ to relieve Princes in Distress, and to save sink-
‘ ing States. But above all, it gives them pleasure
‘ to pull down proud Oppressors, and to humble
‘ such haughty Princes as endeavour to give Law
‘ to their Neighbours, and make use of their Pro-
‘ sperity to make others miserable. This shocks
‘ that generous Love of Liberty which is the Cha-
‘ racteristic of the *Britons*, and determines them
‘ Enemies to such as behave themselves like Ene-
‘ mies to Mankind. We have had recent Ex-
‘ amples of this, especially in regard to the last
‘ Grand Alliance, in which *Great Britain* shewed
‘ such Spirit, and her Statesmen and Generals such
‘ consummate Prudence, and such matchless Abi-
‘ lities as the Memory thereof nothing but excessive
‘ Weakness can efface.

‘ On the whole, I think you must be thoroughly
‘ convinced, that a Project for placing, or rather
‘ replacing, the Balance of Power in the Hands of

– ‘ *Great*

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‘ *Great Britain*, can never be looked upon as Chimerical in its Nature, or improper in point of Time. I persuade myself none in that Country who understand its Interests, and are willing to promote them, can think so. Should I find the contrary, I own it would surprize me; I should imagine that Virtue had followed Justice, and that nothing but Luxury and Violence were left to possess the Earth.’

There is no certainty that any use was ever made of this Paper, tho’ there are two Copies of it; one somewhat enlarged, as if it were the Effects of second Thoughts, and both very fair. The warmth of some Expressions shews how near this matter lay to the Author’s Heart; and as to this Publication, I presume it will not offend the Publick, who seem rather to approve than discountenance such Notions. The next Paper was I imagine drawn up in order to account for the Delays and Difficulties, the Airs of Grandeur and Importance, that a Minister is sure to meet with who negotiates at the Court of *Madrid*. It had its uses then; is entertaining now; and may have its uses again, which was the Reason of giving it a Place in this Appendix.



Of the NATURAL DISADVANTAGES in the *Spanish* Government.

‘ **T**HE Enemies of the *House of Bourbon* give
 ‘ out, that the whole System of Affairs in
 ‘ *Spain* is entirely chang’d, since the Accession of
 ‘ that Family to the Throne; that all Things now
 ‘ follow the *French* Mode, and that therefore such
 ‘ Potentates, as have any thing to do with this Court
 ‘ ought to consider things in this Light. And yet
 ‘ certainly, if they do, they will be deceiv’d.
 ‘ The Temper of the *Spaniards* is like the Laws of the
 ‘ *Medes* and *Persians*, It altereth never; and they
 ‘ who would carry any Point with this Nation, must
 ‘ go over to them. Indeed it is ridiculous to fancy
 ‘ that Men change their Mode of thinking as easily
 ‘ as they do their Clothes; or that because some
 ‘ few *French* Customs may be introduced at Court,
 ‘ therefore there is an entire Revolution in the Peo-
 ‘ ple’s Manners. During the War in *Spain*, there
 ‘ might be a great Prevalence of *French* Customs,
 ‘ by reason of the great Number of Officers which
 ‘ were at Court; but since then, Things are mightily
 ‘ chang’d; the old *Spanish* Customs are revived,
 ‘ and Things are running, as fast as can be, into
 ‘ their ancient Channel. Hence it will follow, that
 ‘ Strangers will meet with worse Treatment than
 ‘ ever; and that the *Hispanioliz’d* Branch of the
 ‘ *House of Bourbon* will be far more untractable than
 ‘ the other.

‘ This

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‘ This will be the more easily understood, if we
 ‘ call to mind the Alteration wrought in the *House*
 ‘ of *Austria*; they came Strangers into *Spain*, as
 ‘ well as the *House of Bourbon*; and at first, shewed
 ‘ far less Inclination to embrace their Manners.
 ‘ *Charles V.* govern’d despotically, from the Moment
 ‘ the Government was put into his Hands, he
 ‘ brought his *Flemings* into all Places of Trust and
 ‘ Profit; broke the Heart of an able *Spanish* Mini-
 ‘ ster, and drove his new Subjects into a Rebellion.
 ‘ Yet the Son of this Man became absolutely a
 ‘ *Spaniard*, and all his Descendants continued so;
 ‘ nay, they outdid all other *Spaniards* in Solemnity
 ‘ of Behaviour, and Exactness in their Conduct.

‘ When *Philip* the Fifth came into *Spain*, it was
 ‘ his Interest to give as much as possible into the
 ‘ *Spanish* Customs, and he did so. But his Queen
 ‘ carried the thing much farther; she had the natural
 ‘ Sagacity of her Family, and one may safely say
 ‘ that her feminine Arts contributed, as much as
 ‘ his Grandfather’s Arms, towards the fixing her
 ‘ Husband on the Throne. She convers’d entirely
 ‘ with *Spanish* Ladies, she not only comply’d with,
 ‘ but commended all their Customs; she carried the
 ‘ thing so far as to be a declared Enemy to all
 ‘ Strangers, and she impressed the same Notions up-
 ‘ on her Children. As she governed some time
 ‘ in the Absence of the King, her Behaviour had
 ‘ mighty Effects upon the People. Few of their
 ‘ Queens had been so well known to them, and
 ‘ none of them condescended to give so much into
 ‘ their Humour. We need not therefore be sur-
 ‘ prized, that this Change of the Royal Family
 ‘ hath not wrought a Change either in the People,
 ‘ or in the Measures of the Court. To speak the
 ‘ Truth, it is impossible. The *Spaniards* are so
 ‘ firm, that Strangers, to avoid ridicule, are forced
 ‘ to adopt their most ridiculous Customs; inso-
 ‘ much

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‘ much that five and twenty Years Residence in
‘ *Spain*, so effectually changes not only a Man’s
‘ Mien, but his Mind; that if he is not a *Spaniard*,
‘ he is at least of no other Country; he retains no-
‘ thing of the *French* or the *Englishman*, he is slow,
‘ haughty, revengeful, and so like a Native, that
‘ no other Nation will care to own him.

‘ I do not pretend that the *French Court* may not
‘ sometimes have an Ascendancy over the *Spanish*
‘ Ministry, as heretofore great Regard was paid to
‘ the Councils of *Vienna* by the Ministers of the *Au-*
‘ *strian* Kings of *Spain*; but still the Bulk of Busi-
‘ ness will be carried on by *Spaniards*, and upon
‘ *Spanish* Maxims. These will keep things in one
‘ constant Channel; and in such a train of Manage-
‘ ment, that unless those who negotiate with this
‘ Court counteract them with equal steadiness,
‘ they will infallibly be baffled. For on this single
‘ Maxim of pursuing steadily its original Intention,
‘ the Policy of *Spain* hath been built, ever since
‘ the time of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*. This some
‘ People call Wisdom, and sometimes it may have
‘ had the Effect of Wisdom, but this is only when
‘ they have to deal with those who will suffer them-
‘ selves to be cheated with Promises, or frightened
‘ with Threats.

‘ We have an Instance of this in the Reign of the
‘ last King of *Spain*, of the *Austrian* Line *Charles II*.
‘ In the Year 1678, the *Spaniards* made Peace with
‘ *France*, which is commonly called the Treaty of *Ni-*
‘ *meguen*; but notwithstanding this, the Subjects of
‘ *Spain* committed extravagant Disorders on the
‘ Frontiers of *Biscay*, robbing not only Passengers,
‘ but plundering Farms and Villages, taking Barks
‘ when they entered their Ports, and in short, com-
‘ mitting as great Hostilities as if there had been
‘ still an open War. Of this the *French* Minister com-
‘ plained over and over, but to no manner of pur-
‘ pose;

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‘ pose; *England* and *Holland* were at that time
‘ jealous of the *French* Power; the *Spaniards* thought
‘ themselves sure of assistance in case they were at-
‘ tacked, and contented themselves with sending
‘ now and then a Commissary to the *French* Frontiers,
‘ who was ordered to do nothing. At length after
‘ several Years forbearance, the *French* King in
‘ 1680, sent some armed Vessels to cruize in the
‘ Mouth of the *Bidassoa*, whereby the Inhabitants
‘ of *Fontarabia* were hindred from Fishing. This
‘ producing no good, the Vessels retired for some
‘ days, and returning suddenly carried off several
‘ Barks, and sent the Fishermen who were in them
‘ Prisoners to *Bayonne*. The *Spanish* Ministers re-
‘ presented to their Allies, that this was a direct
‘ Infraction of the Treaty, but the *French* Ministers
‘ stopt their mouths by a Memorial, wherein they
‘ asserted his Most Christian Majesty’s readiness to
‘ pass by all that was past, and to restore the Barks
‘ with those who were taken on board them, pro-
‘ vided the Catholick King would immediately ex-
‘ ecute the Treaty on his part, by sending Com-
‘ missaries to regulate and settle the Frontiers ac-
‘ cording to the Stipulations in the *Pyrenean* Treaty.
‘ Thus this Affair ended, which probably would
‘ have subsisted many Years longer if these quick
‘ Steps had not been taken.

‘ Another Maxim of the *Spanish* Policy, is, That
‘ for Reasons of State the King, or at least his Mi-
‘ nisters, may break their Words, or commit any
‘ little Irregularity of that sort without prejudice
‘ to their *Spanish* Honour. In the War between
‘ *France* and *Spain*, which was terminated by the
‘ Peace of *Nimeguen* before mentioned, the *Elec-*
‘ tor of *Brandenburg* had furnish’d his *Catholick*
‘ Majesty with a considerable Body of Troops, with-
‘ out which Supply, he could scarce have kept what
‘ still remained to him of the Low Countries. On
‘ accoun

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account of the Subsidies stipulated for the Service of these Troops there remained due to the Elector, upwards of Eight hundred and fifty thousand Pieces of Eight. After many Months Solicitation, the Elector's Minister was put off with Assignments on the *Galleons*, which were shortly expected at *Seville*. But when he came to tender them, he found there were previous Orders from Court, that he should not receive so much as a single Piece of Eight. On his return to *Madrid*, he made very warm Representations as well on account of his Treatment, as with respect to his Master's Debt. The Ministry offered him Bills payable at *Brussels*, and after all would have given him thirty thousand Crowns in ready Money; at which Proposal losing all Patience, he produced an Order from his Master, commanding him to retire in ten days in case he did not receive full Satisfaction. Accordingly at the Expiration of that time, he did retire with abundance of Menaces, after shewing a Letter from the Elector, wherein he treated the *Spanish* Ministry in very coarse Language. The Ministers were glad to be rid of him, and without considering how scandalously they had sacrificed his Interests in their late Treaty, they flattered themselves, he could only revenge himself by Words, on account of the Situation of his Territories. But they were quickly convinced of their Mistake; for the Elector, who was a Prince of Spirit, ordered six Frigates to be fitted out, which he sent to *Ostend*, where they carried out of the Road a Ship belonging to the King of *Spain* ready to sail to *Cadiz*, with Effects on board to the Value of three hundred thousand Crowns. The Court of *Madrid* were excessively piqued, at which the Elector gave himself very little pain; however, at the request of the Ambassadors of *England* and *Holland*, he gave three Months time for

‘ the Payment of his Debt, which elapsed; he sold the
 ‘ Ship and Cargo, and applied the Money towards
 ‘ Payment of his Demand. In the mean time the
 ‘ *Spanish* Court, to preserve its Honour, declared
 ‘ to the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers, that his Ca-
 ‘ tholick Majesty would enter into no Treaty, until
 ‘ the Ship and Cargo was previously restored.

‘ A Man might fill a Book with Instances of this
 ‘ sort, but one is as good as a hundred, to shew the
 ‘ Temper of this Court, which is, and ever will be
 ‘ the same.

‘ Such Maxims as these must necessarily produce
 ‘ everlasting Disorders, and tho’ now and then
 ‘ some seeming Advantages may be drawn from
 ‘ their Consequences, yet cannot they countervail
 ‘ a tenth part of the Mischiefs they occasion. Nei-
 ‘ ther ought we to ascribe such Notions as these
 ‘ to the Wisdom, but to the Humour of a Nation.
 ‘ Wisdom is the same in all Ages, and in all
 ‘ Countries, but Humour differs according both
 ‘ to the Place and to the Time. Cardinal *del Giu-*
 ‘ *dice* used to spend three or four hours in an Af-
 ‘ ternoon at Cards; while all the Affairs of the
 ‘ *Spanish* Nation were in the utmost Confusion. I
 ‘ wonder some Court-Flatterer never took it into
 ‘ his Head to call this a piece of State Policy;
 ‘ doubtless as many Arguments might be offered
 ‘ in favour of it, as of the rest. The *Spaniards*
 ‘ are naturally lazy, arrogant and unjust; their
 ‘ Statesmen bring these good Qualities into the
 ‘ Management of publick Affairs, and thus those
 ‘ Sycophants who swarm in Courts, like Flies at
 ‘ the Shambles, pretend to impose on the Common
 ‘ Sense of Mankind, and to pass on us the basest
 ‘ Vices, for a new-fashion’d sort of Prudence.
 ‘ Whenever the *Spanish* Nobility change their Man-
 ‘ ner of living, when they cease to look upon going
 ‘ out of *Spain* as a kind of Banishment, or to be-
 ‘ lieve

‘ lieve that taking a proper care of their own E-
‘ states is consistent with their Quality; Foreign
‘ Ministers may hope a Change in their Manner of
‘ negotiating, but till then it would be Madness to
‘ expect it. These are natural Disadvantages, and
‘ Impediments under which the *Spanish* Councils
‘ labour, and Men of great Abilities, and of un-
‘ shaken Integrity, will know how to make a right
‘ use of them. A Minister who has a clear Head
‘ and a sound Heart will never fail of carrying his
‘ point at the Court of *Madrid*; whereas a new
‘ Man, with loose Ideas and no Principles, will
‘ make a worse figure there than any where else:
‘ Because the *Spanish* Ministers will have Address
‘ enough to render him accountable for his own
‘ Faults, and theirs too.

‘ Hence we may safely gather, that in treating with
‘ the Court of *Madrid*, the surest Method is to settle
‘ a reasonable Plan, to insist steadily upon every
‘ Article, and not to suffer the Execution of them
‘ to be delay’d upon any Terms. All Civility, all
‘ Complaisance, passes with the *Spaniards* for want
‘ of Courage, and it must necessarily do so; while
‘ in their own Conduct they mistake Obstinacy for
‘ Fortitude. To abate any thing to this People,
‘ instead of advancing a Negotiation is the way to
‘ embarrass it. To quicken *Spaniards* whenever
‘ they raise one Difficulty, you must start two.
‘ Sharp Usage, and a quick Resentment of Injuries,
‘ are with them indubitable Marks of a Man of
‘ Honour; a Nation therefore that bears with
‘ them, may be undone by them. But whoever
‘ makes Reprizals, is sure to be redressed and re-
‘ vered. Since this is the Nature of the Men, o-
‘ ther Men must be content to act with them ac-
‘ cording to their Nature, and not according to the
‘ strict Rules either of good Policy or of good
‘ Breeding. These they are sure to dispense with,

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when the Interest of the King requires it, and in publick Affairs we are not bound to give more than we receive. The favourite Designs at present in the *Spanish* Court, are the re-annexing to the Crown whatever was dismembered from it by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, the *Netherlands* only excepted. As to her Projects in the new World, they are visibly the old Projects of maintaining an absolute Sovereignty there; and therefore this is a clear Proof that there is no alteration in the *Spanish* Measures, but that they act as near as may be by their old Rules.

Tho' this may be, and certainly is grateful to their Humour, yet it is most destructive of their Interest. For this Pride of domineering over many Countries, first exhausted the Strength, and must always hinder the recruiting of the Nation's Vigour. If the *Spanish* Ministers would contract their Designs for a time, and put their domestick Affairs in order, they might hereafter execute some of their darling Projects, to the Advantage of the Monarchy. But of this there are no hopes. All Ministers of State act with a view either to their own Interests or their Glory. Now no *Spanish* Minister could ever find it his Interest to reform the Disorders that have crept into the Administration, because it would put him at once upon ill Terms with all degrees of People, and, however upright his Intentions might be, would not fail to subject him to the severest Reproaches; and if he had Virtue enough to stand all this, it would produce nothing, the very Texture of the *Spanish* Government giving such Authority to certain Tribunals, that without a general Reformation, which must be wrought by Miracle, his Scheme would prove abortive and his Power short-lived.

On

‘ On the other hand, a Minister who aims at
‘ Glory, will always be for Actions of Eclât rather
‘ than Projects of this sort; which tho’ they benefit
‘ many, are thoroughly understood, and properly
‘ esteemed only by a few. A vain-glorious Mi-
‘ nister will always follow popular Humour, and of
‘ course such a Minister in *Spain* will have nothing
‘ in view which is not perfectly consistent with
‘ *Spanish* Ideas of Reputation. We have an In-
‘ stance of this in the famous Cardinal *Alberoni*,
‘ who was for putting himself at the head of
‘ the *Spanish* Army, and persuaded himself that he
‘ had Interest enough to bring over the greatest
‘ part of the *French* Troops under the *Marshal Ber-*
‘ *wick*. And when in consequence of his Efforts
‘ there came little Bodies, some of twenty, some
‘ of thirty Men to the *Spanish* Camp, he said with
‘ a haughty Air, What signifies this? my Master
‘ expected you should have brought your Colours
‘ and Standards, and come by whole Regiments
‘ to range yourselves under his Banners. I men-
‘ tion this, to shew the Infectiousness of the *Spa-*
‘ *nish* Humour, and how strangely it alters a Man
‘ covetous of Glory.

‘ In all other Courts gaining time is a thing of
‘ Importance, but in Negotiations with *Spain*, it
‘ is never beneficial to Strangers; the longer the
‘ Ministry in that Country treat, the higher their
‘ Demands will grow; and whoever looks into
‘ History will observe, that all Treaties disadvan-
‘ tageous to *Spain* were transacted out of *Spain*.
‘ Indeed it is one of her Maxims, That when she
‘ is compelled to grant any thing, it shall be done
‘ at a distance. Of this we have some recent Ex-
‘ amples, such as the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which
‘ tho’ beneficial to King *Philip*, was by no means
‘ grateful to his Subjects; and the Accession of this
‘ Prince to the *Quadruple Alliance*, which tho’ it

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‘ was beneficial to his People, did not at all please
‘ the King.

‘ These are the principal, and I may call them
‘ the perpetual Disadvantages that will occur in
‘ *Spanish* Negotiations. Those who advert to them
‘ will be provided against them, and never suffer
‘ themselves to be softened either by fair Words or
‘ Threats. Such on the contrary as pique themselves
‘ upon Management, and fancy they can find Ex-
‘ pedients satisfactory to both Parties, will be fa-
‘ tally convinced that they are able to please none,
‘ and after a tedious and trifling Course of Dispu-
‘ tations and Wrangling, will be obliged to break
‘ off where they began, either to make room for
‘ a War, or for Men of greater Skill in the Art of
‘ concluding Peace.





Of the CONSEQUENCES of a WAR
in AMERICA.

‘ **T**HE general Current of Opinion not only
 ‘ in *Spain*, but throughout all *Europe*, is
 ‘ directly contrary to mine; and yet I think mine
 ‘ founded on Reason. For this Cause I set it down
 ‘ in Writing, as a Testimony of my Sincerity;
 ‘ tho’ others may interpret it a Mark of my Va-
 ‘ nity. However, be that as it will, my Judg-
 ‘ ment is, that the Discovery of the new World
 ‘ hath been the Ruin of the *Spanish* Monarchy, and
 ‘ this in many respects. It hath lessen’d the Num-
 ‘ ber of People. There are more *Spaniards*, the
 ‘ Extent of Territory considered, in *New-Spain*
 ‘ than in *Old*. And as Multitudes died of conta-
 ‘ gious Diseases, or were destroyed by War, when
 ‘ those Countries were first discovered; so the
 ‘ *Spanish* Dominions in *Europe* feel now the Want
 ‘ of their Posterity: Of all others the greatest Want,
 ‘ and that which scarce any Policy can supply.
 ‘ It corrupted the Minds of the People, by put-
 ‘ ting it in the power of private Men to raise
 ‘ Estates superior to their Condition. This is a
 ‘ Symptom of Ruin in all States; for where-ever
 ‘ many Subjects are discerned to be too rich, it
 ‘ may be concluded there are Multitudes too poor.
 ‘ Now Equality being the Essence of Liberty, by
 ‘ which, I mean that free Spirit that actuates every
 ‘ healthy Government; here is a plain Indication
 ‘ of

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' of its Decay. Here is Reason and Experience,
 ' the former teaches, that in the Nature of Things,
 ' this Flow of Riches must be prejudicial to the
 ' People; and Experience demonstrates that it
 ' hath been so. It hath altered the Frame of the
 ' Government; which few, even of the *Spaniards*
 ' themselves, comprehend. For tho' the King of
 ' *Spain* is not legally absolute, as the King of *Den-*
 ' *mark* is; yet his Minister by a proper Distribu-
 ' tion of rich Places makes himself so: and while
 ' the *Danes* are only Slaves, as having made a
 ' Free-Gift of their Liberties, the haughty *Spani-*
 ' *ards* are something worse, because they have not
 ' so much as the Honour to serve their Prince;
 ' but are generally directed by one, so far from be-
 ' ing better, that he is not so good as themselves;
 ' and which is worst of all, through long Habit
 ' this is become necessary; and it is much to be
 ' questioned whether the Government could be car-
 ' ried on without it. It is the King's Power in the
 ' *West-Indies*, which has lessen'd the Shipping and
 ' destroy'd the Trade of *Spain*. The *American*
 ' Commerce is a Matter of State; and Matters of
 ' State and Matters of Trade never agree; a Race
 ' of tricking Smugglers succeed those magnanimous
 ' Merchants, who, like the ancient *Tyrians* and *Car-*
 ' *thaginians*, became rich by their Industry, and
 ' lived like Princes in consequence of the Wealth
 ' they had attained; which was at the same time
 ' an Accession to the Stock of the Publick: The
 ' *Galleons* and the *Flota* profit the Prince and Fo-
 ' reigners, but they are the Ruin of true Commerce,
 ' and that Spirit which is necessary to support a
 ' Naval Power. It is, in the last place, the great
 ' Cause why *Spain* must be dependent, in a man-
 ' ner, on the Maritime Powers; for while all her
 ' Riches are brought from the *West-Indies*, and
 ' while she wants a Power to maintain the Sove-
 ' reignty

reignty of the Seas; it must follow, that whenever her Designs are repugnant to, or even without Cause disliked by a Prince or State, more powerful at Sea, she must with Shame give way, and be content with such Terms as shall be prescribed her: as evidently appeared on the Fall of Cardinal *Alberoni*, which, together with the Ruin of all his great Schemes, were entirely owing to the Umbrage given by him to the King of *Great Britain*. On the Whole therefore, the *Spanish* Empire in *America* is the true Cause, why she can never have any settled Empire in *Europe*.

The Dominions possess'd by the *English* in those Parts of the World, have quite a different Effect upon their Affairs. The Grandeur of their Nation, and of their Colonies, leaning on the same Principles, *Great Britain* will be always the most formidable Power in *Europe*, while her Subjects preserve their Freedom and encrease their Trade. To both these Ends their Colonies exceedingly contribute, for the People are as free in them, or rather more so, than in their native Island. It is true that none of the *English* Colonies abound with rich Commodities; that is, in comparison with those of *Spain*; but this is their great Advantage. The digging of Gold and Silver, is a sickly and slavish Business; those who enjoy the Profits of it, are proud, lazy and timorous: Whereas such as cultivate Tobacco, raise Sugar-Canes, or plant Rice, are strong, robust People; and as their Commodities are bulky, so the transporting of them occasions an Encrease of Shipping, which is annually very considerable. Hence it is evident, that in proportion as the *Spanish* Colonies flourish, the real Power of *Spain* must decrease: Whereas the Encrease of the *English* Colonies is the Encrease of the *English* Power; and every Man knows, that if you take out of one

Scale,

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‘ Scale, and at the same time add to the Weight
 ‘ in the other, the Balance will be speedily and ir-
 ‘ recoverably lost.

‘ These Things considered, we shall come to have
 ‘ a right Notion of the Interest of both Crowns, with
 ‘ respect to the Commerce between their Subjects
 ‘ in these Parts, which when maturely weigh’d will
 ‘ be found according to the received Maxims of
 ‘ the *Spanish* Court, to be diametrically opposite,
 ‘ but according to the Rules of right Reason exactly
 ‘ the same.

‘ The *Spaniards* make it the principal Point of
 ‘ their Policy to exclude all *Europeans* from Trading
 ‘ in their Dominions in these Parts; and to this,
 ‘ according to the Laws of Nature and of Nations,
 ‘ they have indubitable Right. The Disorders that
 ‘ were committed in the last Century by the *Buc-*
 ‘ *caniers*; who were a lawless Rabble, composed
 ‘ of all Nations, commissioned generally by the
 ‘ *French*, and too much encouraged by the *Eng-*
 ‘ *lish*; I say, the Depredations committed by these
 ‘ Fellows, gave a Pretence to the *Spaniards* to fit
 ‘ out Ships of Force for the protecting of their
 ‘ Coasts; a Circumstance which encouraged their Go-
 ‘ vernours to turn these very Ships into Privateers,
 ‘ and to man them with *Spanish* *Buccaniers*, which
 ‘ instead of curing has increased the Evil. The
 ‘ preventing an illicit Trade, by the Cruising of
 ‘ these Ships is impracticable, tho’ for defending
 ‘ the Coast, they might be very useful; and this is
 ‘ render’d the more apparent by the Success of the
 ‘ *Dutch* Smugglers, who trade for greater Sums,
 ‘ and with a more open Appearance of Force, than
 ‘ any of the *English* Smugglers do. But after all
 ‘ there are two Kinds of illicit Trade carried on,
 ‘ in the *Spanish West-Indies*; the one so necessary,
 ‘ that it must be winked at, and the other which
 ‘ deserves no Favour. In some of the *Spanish*
 ‘ Colonie

Colonies they want Provisions, and these they must have some way or other; and therefore, this they ought to provide for: The other consists in receiving *European* Goods from Foreigners; which considering the Laws of *Spain*, and the Treaties subsisting between her and other Nations; is equally iniquitous and destructive to both. But the Remedy of this too lies entirely in the Hands of the *Spaniards*; and, if instead of sitting out *Guarda Costas*, the Ministry would fit out more Ships from *Spain* with greater Quantities of *European* Goods, and send such Fleets oftner, they would destroy this illicit Commerce, encrease the King of *Spain*'s Revenues, and very much oblige that Power, which of all others is capable of injuring *Spain* the most.

The Method taken by the Court of *Spain* hitherto, has been, to make the Reports of her Governours in these Parts the Rule of her Conduct, and she will be ever in the wrong, so long as she does this. For the *Spanish* Governours being mostly Men who purchase their Authority, they consider in all things their own Interests, rather than that of the State. Their being upon the spot, gives them a great Opportunity, not only of Glossing their own Behaviour, but of Misrepresenting the Nature of Things, and of Misleading those, who depend on their Veracity in stating of Facts. The Interest of a *Spanish* Governour leads him to encourage an illicit Trade, tho' it be directly opposite to the Interest of his Master. It likewise leads him to commission *Guarda Costas*, who plunder not the illicit Traders, but such other Ships as come in their way. Thus the Governour gets by Smuggling, and borrows from it a Pretence, which gives him an Opportunity of getting by Plunder. This Man's Report must necessarily contain any thing

‘ thing rather than Truth, his Head and his Fortune are at stake, and nothing but probable Lyes can save them. This is the true Source of those Deceptions which make the Conduct of the *Spanish* Ministry look like Madness: And because the *French* pursue a Conduct directly opposite, therefore their Colonies seem to flourish by Enchantment.

‘ There is no Reason to apprehend that the *English* will ever think it their Interest to make any great Conquests in *America*; because it is not easy to discern any Use they would be of to them. The Native Commodities of their Island, their own Manufactures, and the Trade which they carry on to their own Colonies, is sufficient to make them rich, and to support their Maritime Power. Should they ever fall into any other Method of Acquiring of Wealth, than by Labour and Industry, they would meet the Fate of the *Spaniards*; their Shipping would decrease, and their Trade be lessen’d, their People would be corrupted, all things would be set to Sale, the Love of Money would become the universal Passion, and the Thirst of Riches would prove their Destruction. Without doubt, it was a Foresight of this, that restrained some of their greatest Statesmen from pushing their Conquests in this Part of the World. In the Reign of the famous *Q. Elizabeth*, the *English* exerted themselves successfully in distressing the *Spaniards* in *Europe* and *America*; but they made no Conquests: and in this, the Wisdom of that Queen’s Councils sufficiently appears. It is the Fault of minor Politicians, who prefer present Advantage to all other Considerations, that ever this Proposition was called in doubt; nor do I believe that any Man of good Sense, and well acquainted with History,

‘ ever

‘ ever seriously advanced the contrary, tho’ for
‘ political Purposes he might seem to do it.
‘ While the *Spaniards* are possess’d of their
‘ Mines, they will take care, as far as in them lies,
‘ to come at their Contents; and this being done,
‘ the *English* will always have their Share of the
‘ Treasures of *Peru*, in a Time either of Peace,
‘ or of War. During a Time of Peace, Silver is
‘ considered as a Commodity, especially by the
‘ *Spaniards*, who have no other Way of coming at
‘ the Necessaries of Life, much more at its Con-
‘ veniences, or the Instruments of Luxury, but by
‘ the Exchange of this Commodity. A Man can
‘ neither eat, drink, nor wear Silver; and while
‘ the *English* are possess’d of those Things which
‘ the *Spaniards* want and must have, it is a clear
‘ Case, that by way of Equivalent they must share
‘ in their Treasures. It is true that the *Spaniards*,
‘ since the Accession of a Prince of the House of
‘ *Bourbon*, have shewn some Marks of Dislike to
‘ the *English*, and so they have done heretofore.
‘ But after all, it is more their Interest to trade
‘ with them, than with any other *European* Na-
‘ tion; and in the End it will be found so. For,
‘ with respect to other Nations, they take all in
‘ Silver; whereas the *English* take a great deal in
‘ Goods. In a Time of Peace, therefore, the *Eng-
‘ lish* will have a great Trade here, and a large
‘ Share in the Returns from *Peru*. They will also
‘ indemnify themselves for the Loss of their Trade,
‘ by their Captures in a War; that is, whenever
‘ they think fit to act vigorously, and to make Repa-
‘ ration of Damages the principal Aim of their Ex-
‘ peditions. This will at once benefit themselves,
‘ and bring their Enemies to accept such Terms
‘ as they shall think fit to prescribe; which will
‘ never be very hard ones, because on a Peace,
‘ mutual Benefits are to be made by Trade.

‘ There

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‘ There was a Project in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time;
 ‘ which exceedingly terrify'd the *Spaniards*; and
 ‘ it is a Project always in the power of the *English*
 ‘ to execute; tho' I know not whether ever it will
 ‘ be expedient. I mean the fortifying the Island
 ‘ of *Providence*; which tho' it could not be done
 ‘ without a great Expence, yet when once done;
 ‘ it would be a stronger Check upon the *Spaniards*;
 ‘ than taking from them any Part of their Do-
 ‘ minions. After this, the present Method of con-
 ‘ veying the Treasure into *Europe* must be laid
 ‘ aside, or be absolutely dependent upon the *Eng-*
 ‘ *lish*. It is not impossible but another Method
 ‘ of Conveying it might be found; but then this
 ‘ would prove the Destruction of all the *Spanish*
 ‘ Settlements that are now in being; new Cities
 ‘ must be erected, new Roads made, and new
 ‘ Havens fortified; or on the other hand, as I said
 ‘ before, such Concessions must be made to *Great*
 ‘ *Britain*, as would leave it no way her Interest to
 ‘ disturb the Navigation as it now stands.

‘ As long as a War can be avoided in these Parts
 ‘ of the World, both Nations will find their Advan-
 ‘ tages in it; but, if the Dispositions of the *Spanish*
 ‘ Ministry should make it inevitable, the Conse-
 ‘ quence will be the proclaiming their own Weak-
 ‘ ness to the whole World. For tho' it may be true
 ‘ that the fortified Places in the *West-Indies* are in a
 ‘ much better Condition than they were formerly;
 ‘ and that the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding the great
 ‘ Blow on the Coast of *Sicily*, may have a greater
 ‘ Naval Force than at the Accession of the present
 ‘ King; yet this is nothing in comparison of the
 ‘ Maritime Force of the *English*, which during a
 ‘ War, will daily encrease in the *West-Indies*,
 ‘ while that of *Spain* diminishes, and one Place
 ‘ is lost after another. These Wounds too will be
 ‘ mortal with respect to them; while any Losses
 ‘ the

the *English* sustain will be but Scratches. A few Men of War lost in taking a strong Port, will not be felt by them; for they can put as many more upon the Stocks immediately; and the People, instead of being dispirited, would feel their Courage roused by such an Opposition. Whereas the Destruction of *Carthagera*, and the *Havanna*, would be irreparable to the *Spaniards*; it would be not only the Work of half a Century to set them to rights again, but it would sink them in the Opinion of their Allies, and of all the Potentates of *Europe*: Lay their Trade open to Smugglers of all Nations; and perhaps beget a new Swarm of Buccaneers.

In *Spain* nothing of this Sort is apprehended, but it is never the less certain for that: The Taking of *Carthagera* by the *French*, was look'd upon as a Chimæra, but it took Effect, tho' the Squadron which performed that Exploit, was no way comparable to that lately sent by the *English* Nation into the *West-Indies*:

There are some who would pass for refined Statesmen, that are continually talking of the Possibility of stripping *Spain* of her *Indies*; but with respect to this, two Considerations will arise. First, Whether the Thing be Practicable; And, Secondly, Whether it be Expedient. The First who propagated this Opinion, was Father Gage, the Prime Author of *Cromwell's* Attempts against *Spain*. He had spent many Years in *New Spain*, and therefore might be supposed to know a great deal of this matter: But two Things may be objected against him, on his own Authority; I mean, from a View of his Writings. That he was a Man of a weak Judgment, and of little Veracity. He asserts of his own Knowledge, that *Indians* by the Power of the *Devil* become *Wolves*, and after-

'wards re-assume a human Form ; and he relates
 ' Stories of his Transactions at *Rome*, inconsistent
 ' with themselves, and with the Times. It was
 ' this Man, who set on foot the Expedition to
 ' *Hispaniola*, in which, if I mistake not, he died.
 ' How little, Things answered then to his De-
 ' scription, is so well known, that I wonder much
 ' Regard has been paid to it since ; especially as all
 ' Writers agree that the *Spanish* Settlements im-
 ' prove, tho' but slowly. That the *English* might
 ' dispossess them of *Porto Rico* ; what they possess
 ' of *Hispaniola* ; or of *Cuba* ; I will not dispute :
 ' but I think the Conquest of any two of these
 ' Places at one and the same Time impracticable.
 ' There is a great Difference between Plundering
 ' of Coasts and Conquering a Country ; because
 ' some Men, and especially *Spaniards*, may defend
 ' but faintly a Part of their Properties, and yet fight
 ' desperately, rather than become Beggars. As to
 ' their Possessions on the Continent, tho' they are
 ' thinly peopled in proportion to the Extent of
 ' the Country, yet the *Spanish* Viceroy in Time
 ' would assemble much more numerous and formi-
 ' dable Armies, than could be composed out of
 ' Troops sent to attack them. To which if we
 ' add, Their Knowledge of the Country, the Ad-
 ' vantages they may take by fortifying Passes,
 ' Fords, &c. and above all, their being seasoned
 ' to the Climate ; We shall not be inclined to
 ' credit what some bold Adventurers assert, that
 ' *New Spain* would be an easy Conquest.

' That which seems to have given greatest Pro-
 ' bability to this Notion is, the Histories we have
 ' of the *Buccaneers*. Yet even these are swallowed
 ' crudely, otherwise they would demonstrate just the
 ' reverse of what they are generally cited to prove.
 ' We are told that if *Buccaneers* did such and
 ' such things, regular Forces might be expected to
 ' do

do still more. I say now, Buccaneers are preferable to all Forces for many Reasons. They fight in their own Cause, upon their own Plans, and what they get that they have. This is a great matter. After the great Battle of *Belgrade*, we are told that some *German* Officers shared by the Sale of their Plunder three or four hundred Ducats. But a private Man amongst these Fellows hath often had thousands of Pieces of Eight for his Share. In the next Place, these Men are the best disciplined Troops in the World; give them Horses they are Dragoons; take them away, they are Foot; bring them to a River, they swim it; lead them to the Sea-Shore, they are in their proper Element. They have amongst them all Trades, Carpenters, Sail-makers, Engineers, and what not. If they have Ships, they know how to use them; if they have none, they can make Canoes. I grant they are very irregular in their Conduct, but in all these respects they are preferable to regular Troops. Yet the greatest Exploits these Men have done were always by Surprise, nor did they ever pretend to keep or fortify any Place they took. This must not be ascribed to their want of competent Force, because they have been sometimes strong enough to fight a *Spanish* Squadron, and by the help of their ill Management to beat them. But it must be ascribed to its true Cause, the superiour Strength of the *Spaniards* in those Parts, when they recover from their Amazement, and come to act under the Command of proper Officers. These are but Hints, yet may easily be improved from the old *English* Relations, which are the fairest and best Accounts extant in any Language, and are exceedingly esteemed even by the *Spaniards* themselves. The true Cause of this is, that the *English* Ministers in those Days maintained abundance of Spies,

both in *Europe* and *America*, who sent them
 Copies of State-Papers, Memorials, and other
 authentick Intelligence, on which their Expedi-
 tions were grounded, and those who were en-
 trusted with the Command in such Expeditions,
 acted on the same Plan; their Memoirs therefore
 may well appear in a different Light from those,
 which fell from the Pens of Men of small Capa-
 city, and who derived all their Lights from a
 rambling Disposition.

But letting this pass, and supposing such Con-
 quests were practicable, would they be expedient?
 If the *English* dispossessed the *Spaniards*, they
 must keep the Places themselves, or they must
 give them to some other Nations. Would the
 rest of *Europe* suffer the first? Or can *England*
 part with People enow to maintain such extend-
 ed Conquests? These are things that ought to be
 very seriously considered, I mean, whenever it
 shall be thought proper to attempt such Conquests.
 On the other hand, have not the *English* greater
 Advantages from the *Spaniards* possessing these
 Countries, than if they were possessed by them-
 selves, or by any other Nation? They share in
 the Silver of *Potosi*, tho' they do not dig it. If
 they were Masters of the Mines, they must dig it
 before they had it; if another Nation possessed it
 who could supply their People with their own
 Manufactures, they would have no Share at all;
 these are Points that ought to be discuss'd before
 the Ruin of the *Spanish* Empire in *America* be
 thought either a Thing expedient, or a Thing
 indifferent to *Great Britain*. In a general Con-
 versation, these Things are not thought of, even
 by Men of great Parts, and will never occur to
 those hasty Projectors who have nothing in view
 but the gratifying their own Prejudices, or
 raising to themselves great Fortunes, from the
 Schemes

‘ Schemes they propose, of making one great Nation the Instrument of ruining another.

‘ I must allow that there is another Method of taking the *Spanish* Empire of *America*, or at least the far greatest part of it quite away; without embarking Troops, with a moderate Expence, and by the help only of a reasonable Squadron. This I believe was first excogitated in the Councils of King *William* III. after *Lewis* XIV. had determined to place his Grandson on the *Spanish* Throne. But this Method is not by any means fit for me to expatiate on. Such things ought never to be thought on, but when all hopes of Reconciliation are taken away, and when a Nation is reduced to such a pass, as that she may justly think all Expedients lawful. But as this never can be the case of the People of *Great Britain*, I do not imagine such a Proposition will ever be thought proper or expedient. *Ind. Insur.*

‘ To conclude, the Consequences of a War in *America*, must without unaccountable Mismanagements be extremely glorious to the *British* Arms, and will be the Touchstone which must shew to all the World the Baseness of *Spanish* Metal. It will demonstrate that nothing but the Modesty of the *English* hinders them from triumphing at any time over such feeble Enemies, and that they are restrained even in their just Revenge, by a Consciousness of their Superiority. If once in a Century the Pride and Folly of *Spain* requires that her Ports should be destroyed and her Cities laid waste, it must be done; but it will be done with Reluctance, especially by so brave a People, who instead of exulting are ashamed of unequal Victories, and see with sorrow those Chastisements the Madness of their Enemies made necessary. Such a Conduct will gain the Respect,
‘ without

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‘ without losing the Affection of other Nations; they
‘ will see with Surprize what mighty things the
‘ *British* Power is capable of performing, and how
‘ little the Nation is inclined to play the Tyrant,
‘ who of all *European* Nations has it most in her
‘ Power: Who owes to God and Nature only
‘ her offensive and defensive Arms; and who re-
‘ members in the use of them, that they are ac-
‘ countable to him who gave them, tho’ to no
‘ other Power.’

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